THEORY-BASED EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A SOUTH AFRICAN CASE STUDY.

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

Theory-based evaluation of community development: A South African case study.

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This study is a case study of the motivation for and application of a theory-driven evaluation approach to a community development programme in South Africa. The motivation for a theory-based approach is explicated within the context of the inability of experimental or 'black box' designs to evaluation to provide the requisite information to programme implementers, programme managers as well as policy makers. It also argues that experimental design in evaluation has not lived up to its promise of producing systematic and robust evidence about the impact of projects or programmes. Instead, experimental designs have struggled to maintain the integrity of the designs and are fraught with deficiencies that influence the quality of the results.

The research context of a South Africa in the midst of political, economic and social transformation from 1994 to the present, is presented to highlight the complex challenges facing the country in terms of economic upliftment, poverty alleviation and social transformation. The need to evaluate the various interventions and initiatives through policy changes and development programme is then established. One such intervention, a community development programme initiated by the Centre for Community Development (CCD), is introduced as an example of an intervention with the objectives to deal with the challenges listed above.

The history and development of programme evaluation as an interdisciplinary, applied field of research are presented to illuminate the multiple purposes assigned to programme evaluation and to create the platform for further arguments for the use of a theory-based approach to evaluation. The history, growth and potential benefits of a theory-driven approach are shared as well as the barriers and critiques from various quarters. A meta-theoretical analysis of the philosophical debates about the paradigmatic choices available to researchers is used to construct the ontological,

epistemological and methodological landscape that influences various orientations to research. It shows how different researchers interpret this landscape or framework and locates the theory-based approach to evaluation within a particular brand of realist ontology.

Community development is showcased in terms of its central concepts, that is ‘community’ and ‘development’. These concepts, individually and their interconnections, are interrogated and explained for the purposes of generating a conceptual and theoretical framework that is used later in the analysis of the evaluation findings. The research context of the community development programme is then introduced and the evaluation findings are outlined and discussed. The analysis of the evaluation findings reveals the essence of the community development programme and provides guidance for further refinement of the theory-based approach.

OPSOMMING

Die gevallestudie ondersoek die motivering vir die gebruik en implementering van `n teoriegedrewe benadering vir die evaluering van `n gemeenskapontwikkelings program in Suid Afrika. Die motivering vir `n teoriegedrewe benadering word bespreek in die konteks van die onvermoë van eksperimentele of 'black-box' benadering tot evaluering om genoegsame informasie aan program implementeerders, program-bestuurders en beleidmakers te verskaf. Daar word ook geargumenteer dat die eskperimentele benadering tot evaluering, ondanks die belofte om sistematiese en gegronde bewyse van die uitwerking van projekte of programme daar te stel, nie aan hierdie belofte voldoen nie. Die eksperimetele benadering worstel ook om die integriteit van die ontwerpe te behou en dit beïnvloed die kwaliteit van die resultate.

Die politieke, ekonomiese en sosiale transformasie in Suid Afrika, vanaf 1994 tot die hede, word beskryf as die navorsing-konteks om sodoende die uitdagings van ekonomiese opheffing, armoede verligting en sosiale transformasie uit te lig. Die dringende behoefte om verskeie initiatiewe en intervensies, wat in die lewe geroep is deur beleids-veranderinge en ontwikkelings-programme, te evalueer word vervolgens bespreek. `n Voorbeeld van so `n initiatief is die van die Sentrum vir Gemeenskaps-Ontwikkeling (CCD) wat ten doel het om van die sosiale uitdagings, hierbo genoem, vas te vat.

Verdere argumente vir die gebruik van die teoriegedrewe benadering tot program evaluering word aangevoer deur middel van `n uitbreiding van die geskiedenis en ontwikkeling van program-evaluering . Program-evaluering word uitgebeeld as `n interdissiplinêre toegepaste veld van navorsing en word aangewend vir verskeie doeleindes. Die geskiedenis, groei en potensiële voordele van die teoriegedrewe benadering tot evaluering word bespreek asook die probleme van, en kritiek teenoor die benadering. Die ontologiese, epistemologiese en metodologiese raamwerk wat die sosiale wetenskappe omskryf en beïnvloed, word bespreek deur `n meta-teoretiese analiese van die filosofiese debatte oor die paradigmatiese keuses wat navorsers maak en beïnvloed. Dit wys ook hoe navorsers hierdie raamwerk interpreter en die teorie-

aangedrewe benadering tot evaluering word vas gele binne `n bepaalde soort realistiese ontologie.

Gemeenskaps-ontwikkeling word ook ontleed in terme van die sentrale konsepte naamlik ‘gemeenskap’ en ‘ontwikkeling’. Hierdie konsepte word ontleed en verduidelik met die doel om `n teoretiese raamwerk te ontwikkel wat later gebruik word in die analise van die evaluasie resultate.Die navorsings-konteks van die gemeenskaps ontwikkeling program word ook uitgebeeld en die resultate van die evaluasie aangebied en bespreek. Die ontleding van die resultate van die evaluasie ontbloot die kern van die gemeenskaps ontwikkeling program en bied riglyne vir die verdere verskerping van die teoriegedrewe benadering tot evaluasie.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introducing the study

Introduction and background

> Evaluation research is more than the application of methods. It is also a political and managerial activity, an input into the complex mosaic from which emerge policy decisions and allocations for the planning, design, implementation, and continuance of programs to better the human condition. (Rossi and Freeman, 1993, p. 15)

Programme evaluation or evaluation research, as a distinct discipline and a field of study is relatively new in South Africa (Louw, 1998, Potter, 1999, Potter and Kruger, 2001). Its development in South Africa was stymied in part by the interdisciplinary nature of programme evaluation, trying to find roots within historically, a very discipline based higher education system. Programme evaluation practice in South Africa has, within this time-frame, a history of being conducted by academics and professionals trained in, among others, Psychology, Sociology, Education or Political Science. Another reason for the slow development of programme evaluation in South Africa as forwarded by De Vos (1998), is that of political engineering under apartheid rule. She maintains that during the 1980s the then Department of Health Services and Welfare initially reserved the benefits of a programmatical approach to development for the white population in South Africa. The white department, administering exclusively to a minority population group, first had to master the art of programme development and evaluation before the expertise could be passed on to the other departments.

This paucity in evaluation studies of development programmes initiated by the government and non-government organisations (NGOs) is a concern that is slowly being addressed. Over the last decade, government agencies and NGOs, often using international donor funds for their own projects have been engaged in outsourcing evaluation studies and some departments, such as Land Affairs and Public Works, have

established their own monitoring and evaluation units (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). In addition, the lack of skills in the area of evaluation research is being addressed by the offering of dedicated courses at various higher education institutions. Several new locally produced, social science research textbooks, used by undergraduate and post-graduate students, have, included in them, chapters on programme evaluation. These developments have contributed to the growth of a "young and vibrant culture of evaluation research" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 337) in South Africa. Two of the texts by Potter (1999), and Potter and Kruger (2001), referred to above and cited throughout this study, correctly assert that there is no single correct approach to programme evaluation. However, in their presentations of programme evaluation as a field of study they have rigidly clustered different evaluation models in three broad paradigms, namely, positivist, interpretive, and critical-emancipatory. Rather than illuminating one's understanding of the evaluation field, their typologies confound and confuse. Of even greater concern for the present study is the lack of attention they give to theoretical aspects of social programmes and their claim that programme evaluation is essentially about answering specific practical questions about programmes and their development. The set of typologies introduced by Potter and Kruger is reminiscent of arguments presented during the 'paradigm wars' that dominated debate within the social sciences during recent years.

The so-called 'paradigm war' was essentially the debate about the relative merits and demerits of qualitative and quantitative methods. The debate, which is now showing signs of dissipating, lasted for nearly five decades. Since programme evaluation does not have its own methods but rely on social science research methods utilised in these disciplines, it was also influenced by the debate. Hence the underlying 'research' component of evaluation was for a long period informed by the prevailing methodological debates. Experimental methods, because they were relatively simple, and intuitively understandable, appealed at least conceptually to policy makers. The randomised experiment became the preferred research design for programme evaluation and was referred to as 'the flagship of evaluation' (Rossi and Freeman, 1993) and the 'nectar of the gods' (Hollister and Hill, 1995). But the application of experimental methods in programme evaluation, across all kinds of intervention

programmes, proved to be ineffectual and failed to produce information useful for policy decisions. In fact Lipsey, Crosse, Dunkle, Pollard and Stabart (1985) found that evaluation studies following experimental designs struggled to maintain the integrity of the designs and were fraught with deficiencies that influenced the quality of the results. The crisis in this, the 'black box' type of approach to evaluation and other research, paved the way for proponents of the naturalistic paradigm to argue for a more constructivist approach to programme evaluation. They called for a preference to the concept of multiple and constructed realities. In essence it also meant that a research design would emerge rather than be imposed and that theory would be generated from the context. A further, more detailed discussion of this, the 'methods debate' can be found later in this dissertation. The contradictory stance portrayed in the debate is highlighted here because it also ushered in the period of a 'methods-driven' focus for programme evaluation.

Some evaluators, like Reichardt and Cook (1979), Smith (1986), and Williams (1986), in an attempt to defuse the conflict generated by the methods-debate, advocated the use of a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. While there was agreement with the possibility of using research methods interchangeably, Guba and Lincoln (1988) raised the concern about the level of integration. For them research methods are linked to their paradigms and "can only be used to their full potential when applied within the context of the appropriate paradigm" (Clarke and Dawson,1999, p. 61). Reichhardt and Cook (1979) however rejected the assumption that allegiance to a particular paradigm should determine the choice of methods for the evaluator. They encouraged evaluators to use whatever methods were suited to the nature and context of the evaluation. Chen (1990) on the other hand, questioned the advocacy of a multi-methods approach to evaluation research that is removed from the purpose of the evaluation. He warned that there was no one best method for evaluation that could be applied in all contexts. Factors, such as the purpose of the evaluation, the level of maturity of the intervention programme, the expectations of various stakeholders and the availability of time and resources, need to be considered when deciding on appropriate research methods to use. For Lipsey (1989), Chen (1990), Weiss (1995) and Posvac and Carey (1997) the methods-driven focus of such evaluations was unfortunate because the results of the evaluations produced very little

insight into the complex nature of social intervention programmes. We are informed, through such evaluations, that programmes have failed to attain their outcomes, but not why they had failed. Also, in the case of success stories, we are none the wiser as to what aspects of a programme ensured its success and this makes replication of programmes impossible and it limits the scope for informed policy decisions.

It is at this point that this study intersects with other evaluators (Chen and Rossi, 1983, Lipsey, 1985, Bickman, 1987 ;1990, Weiss, 1997) in replacing the approach to programme evaluation from a method-oriented focus to a theory-oriented perspective. The theory-based approach assumes that underlying any social intervention is an explicit or latent "theory" about how the intervention is meant to change outcomes or lead to specific outcomes. It is believed that this kind of theory-based approach will illuminate aspects of the programme, its implementation and effects that need attention and it will provide guidance to additional and crucial instruments necessary for data gathering. There is also agreement here with Clarke and Dawson (1999) who state that introductory texts to evaluation often overlook the contribution that theory makes to evaluation. Specific reference can be made to Potter and Kruger (2001) cited earlier who portray evaluation research "as an atheoretical, methods-oriented enterprise" (Clarke and Dawson, 1999, p. 30). Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey (1999) articulate the basic understanding of intervention programmes from a theory-driven perspective with the following:

> Every program embodies a program theory, a set of assumptions and expectations that constitute the logic or plan of the program and provide the rationale for what the program does and why. These assumptions may well be formulated and explicitly stated, representing an *articulated* program theory, or they may be inherent in the program but not overtly stated, thus comprising an *implicit* program theory. (Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey, 1999, p. 187)

Therefore, this approach recognises that the evaluator enters the programme arena with access to a wide range of social research methods. The choice of research methods will depend on a number of factors, some of which were listed earlier, but more specifically

also the programme theory. According to Bickman (1987), evaluations that have a clear programme theory have a number of benefits. Some of these benefits include;

- Contributing to social science knowledge
- Assisting policy makers
- Assistance to programme planners
- Discriminating between programme failure and theory failure.

This study will present and discuss the arguments forwarded by proponents of the theory-driven evaluation approach in their pursuance of the above stated benefits. These arguments will be placed in a broader discussion of the history, development and nature of programme evaluation. This will be followed by an outline of a meta-theoretical framework wherein programme evaluation is located and that informs the choice for a theory-based approach to evaluation. In addition, this study will present the design, implementation and findings of an evaluation of a community development programme. This evaluation research intends to pursue the above, articulated benefits and in this way contribute to the relatively new South African body of knowledge about evaluation research as well as add to the growing international body of knowledge about theory-based programme evaluation.

The research problem and questions

The much-publicised democratic elections during 1994 introduced a new era of political freedom and choice in South Africa. All South Africans, regardless of race, class and creed were, for the first time, accorded the opportunity to choose who should govern them. This process was also repeated a year later at local level where residents voted for representatives of their choice for local government. The political freedoms introduced by these processes shifted the entire country onto a new path of political engagement but it could not address all the ramifications and legacies of South Africa's history. The history of South Africa, dominated by colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour policies, resulted in segregated, fragmented communities and a breakdown of traditional values and support systems within communities.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), launched by the African National Congress (the present government) in 1994 described the situation thus:

> The result is that poverty and degradation exist side by side with modern cities and a developing mining, industrial and commercial infrastructure. Segregation in education, health, welfare, transport and employment left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency. The result is that in every sphere of society – economic, social, political, moral, cultural and environmental – South Africans are confronted by serious problems. There is not a single sector of South African society, not a person living in South Africa, untouched by the ravages of apartheid. (ANC, 1994, p. 3)

In addition, the authors of the RDP estimated that 17 million people in South Africa were surviving below the 'Minimum Living Level' and that 11 million of these people were located in rural areas. Since then, the government has promulgated various pieces of legislation to deal with the issue of poverty alleviation. Instead of one central RDP ministry, therefore a singular government agency, to deal with the problem, the RDP office was closed down and its functions were spread across the various ministerial functions such as Social Welfare, Education and Health. The articulation of problems and development challenges in the RDP document indicated the immense tasks of redress and social upliftment in South African communities. On the ground level, it pointed to redress and development needs in education, where a new national school curriculum was in the process of being introduced. The segregated health and welfare systems were in the process of being overhauled. New labour laws were being introduced. Governance at local level was changing, and unemployment linked to poverty eradication presented itself as a huge challenge for all sectors of society.

Despite all the efforts on the part of government and other agencies, the problems are not decreasing. In their motivation for an Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), the University of Pretoria based programme developers make the following observation:

> The state remains largely ineffective in reaching the poor. Impoverished communities feel that their lives remain unchanged by government interventions. They report that their interaction with state representatives is marred by rudeness, humiliation, harassment and corruption. There are also gender differences in their experiences with state institutions that reflect societal norms of gender-based power inequity. (IRDP, 2001, p. 8)

This statement should be considered against documented evidence that the present government, since 1994, achieved much to improve the quality of life for vast numbers of people in this country who previously did not have access to any services. Primary health care for example has enabled the government to provide basic health care to millions of people. The government also initiated a land reform programme that has to date settled in excess of 68,000 families on more than 300,000 hectares of farming land. Cheap housing has been made available to almost a million families and clean water, via standpipes, became available for rural people who previously either used ground water or bought their drinking supplies from lorries (Lodge, 1999). Statistics of this nature are regularly supplied via the government's Communications and Information Service.

What cannot be ascertained immediately however, is the relative success of these policies, not just in terms of numbers, but in terms of quality as in the objective of 'improving the quality of life' of the people. A number of recorded legal battles have arisen because of alleged corruption with the building and allocation of 'cheap houses'. Newly housed residents have also reportedly given up their houses because they could not afford to keep up with payments of municipal rates and bank charges. Large tracts of arable land given to families and groups of people in need, lay unused or under-utilised and the newly built primary health care clinics operate under severe human and financial resource limitations.

Similarly, non-government organisations (NGOs) in South Africa have also embarked on a vast number of development projects. Some have done this in collaboration with the government and others have operated independently, using available international and national funding sources to operate. Since the 1970s, an estimated R6 billion of

overseas and local funding has been used by various NGOs to engage in development projects in various sectors of society, and only a small fraction of these programmes has been evaluated (Potter, 1999). The contribution of NGO development work in South Africa has not been insignificant. With the existence of so many 'unmet' needs in the country, NGOs have been able to offer products and services, where the government was unable to deliver them. The scope and reach of NGO work in South Africa is impossible to describe but it is common knowledge that NGOs work in every sphere and sectors of society, normally on a small scale within a particular geographic area with specific interest groups. The sectors include, among others, health, welfare, education, entrepreneurship, community development, and skills training. The Mail and Guardian newspaper, which runs a competition called 'Investing in the Future', recently reported that it has seen an increase of entries from companies, foundations and NGOs making a difference with their various social responsibility projects. These included empowerment projects focusing on skills development, entrepreneurship, food security and arts and culture (October 25, 2002).

However, some programmes have disappeared completely and large numbers of NGOs have closed down because of a lack of funding. A culture of evaluation is slowly emerging among the remaining NGOs albeit, in some cases, to satisfy the donor community. But it is also claimed that not all NGOs, although they have an effective poverty focus, are effective in reaching the poorest of the poor (Patel, 1998). NGOs are confronted with limited or non-existing local infrastructures and of late have lost several of their key staff to government agencies. It is in this context also that the Centre for Community Development (CCD) of Vista University, a national non-government organisation, implemented a 'community empowerment programme. This programme, located in the Mossel Bay area of the Western Cape was started in 1997 and completed during the beginning of 2000.

The Centre for Community Development (CCD) introduced a process of cognitive education and personal empowerment, a programme initially used exclusively for educators, and adapted and extended it for use with other sectors of the community. The core objectives of the community empowerment programme of CCD were:

- To facilitate a process to determine, prioritise and address community needs.
- To enhance the personal development of the individual in order for greater impact on the community.
- To assist the community to access human, physical and financial resources.
- To establish and maintain links and partnerships with relevant stakeholders to promote cooperative and sustained growth.
- To develop democratic practices within a South African context.
- To manage, plan and assess change through the development of evaluation capacity.

(CCD Project Proposal – 1996)

The evaluation of this programme for the purposes of this study was initiated and started in 1999, during the last year of the programme's lifespan.

Table 1.1: Chronology of events

DATE	**EVENT**
1994	First democratic elections in South Africa
1995	Local government elections across South Africa
1996	Centre for Community Development (CCD) develop proposal for work in Mossel Bay area.
1997	Commencement of community development programme
1999	Start of evaluation of community development programme. National elections in the country.
2000	Completion of evaluation and end of community development programme
2003	Presentation of evaluation findings in context of this study

The initiative of the Centre for Community Development in the Mossel Bay area came soon after the first democratic elections in the country. It started operating in an environment, pregnant with hope of renewal, inundated with new policies, as well as despair about the future of the region and the country. The challenges that faced the community development programme in the Mossel Bay area were similar to challenges faced by most communities in South Africa. The need for an evaluation of this particular intervention programme became evident.

Given the general paucity of programme evaluation studies in the country it was felt that there was an urgent need for the studying of evaluation methodologies as they applied to local programmes. Such studies would lead to a greater understanding of intervention programmes and would generate a strong theoretical and conceptual base necessary for informed judgements related to programme appropriateness and effectiveness. But, the production of evaluation studies that focused only on the 'bottom line' as indicated earlier with the government statistics, was problematic. They masked not only the failures but also the benefits attained through the various intervention programmes. The 'black box' type of evaluations was unable, according to Pawson and Tilley (1994), to provide any real insight into the underlying causal mechanisms that produce treatment effects. This then lead to the central problem for this study, i.e. **how does one adequately assess the effectiveness of a community development programme, implemented in a changing political landscape that introduced a transformed social and economic policy environment, and renewed health, welfare and education systems?**

This study will argue that the articulation of the theory behind the programme can provide assistance to planners and can help to identify the intermediate results of a programme rather than just the 'bottom line'. There is agreement with Weiss (1998), who suggests that every effort should be made to search for better programme theory because the state of current social interventions is very limited and in need of help. With this endeavour, this study seeks to address the following specific research questions:

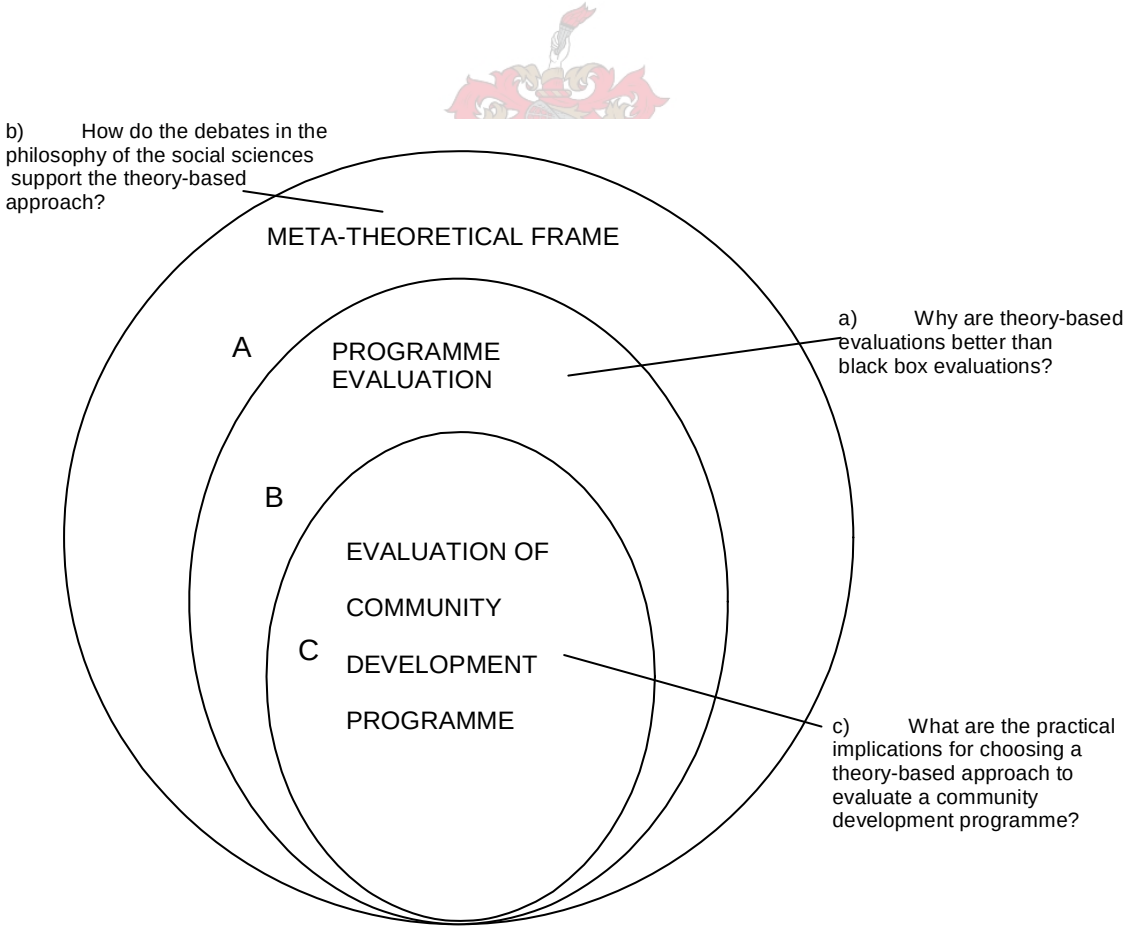
a) Why are theory-based evaluations better than black box evaluations?

b) How do the debates in the philosophy of the social sciences support the theory-based approach and,

c) What are the practical implications for choosing a theory-based approach to evaluate a community development programme?

The following figure provides a graphic picture of this case study. However the levels or layers, as indicated by the A, B and C in the graphic do not correspond neatly with the research questions for the study. Research question a) deals with level B and research question b) deals with level A.

Figure 1.1 – Case study design for theory-based evaluation



Rationale for the research

As mentioned earlier, social and economic development initiatives are on the increase in South Africa. Poverty alleviation projects are being implemented across the length and breadth of all provinces. Local governments are required to develop and implement integrated development plans (IDPs). The central government has identified nodes or geographic areas that will be targeted for development purposes. Yet, there is currently an outcry that not enough is being done to address the myriad of existing socio-economic problems in the country. Unemployment is on the increase, crime statistics are worryingly high, and the rural poor suffer under inadequate social infrastructure, lack of transport, housing and opportunities to survive. An a-historical analysis of this scenario would or could lay the responsibility for these conditions with the present government and its policies of deregulation and privatisation or a more accusatory analysis would or could present all the problems as merely the legacy of the Apartheid policies of the previous government. In fact, the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (Government Gazette, 2000) states in its preamble that the restructuring of local authorities was necessary because the previous local government system failed to meet the basic needs of the majority of South Africans. However, the origin or causes of socio-economic problems in South Africa is not the focus of this study. Ginsburg (1998) captures the focus for this study when he says "the bold attempt to combat the cancerous growth of poverty, as evidenced in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) has largely failed – although not for the lack of trying" (p. 36).

In surveying the recorded achievements of the government since 1994, Lodge (1999) points to the introduction of a primary health care policy that enabled the establishment of numerous community-based clinics. He mentions the land reform policy that managed to settle thousands of people on 220 222 hectares of farming land. A housing policy that provided 600 000 cheap housing through a subsidy system. Road building initiatives by the Public Works Project, the provision of clean water as mentioned earlier, as well as the rapid electrification of 1.4 million homes. Lodge (1999) maintains that these statistics do signify considerable change but he also states that

numbers can be misleading. The reason for this assessment by Lodge is because these numbers, although impressive on their own, fall far short of the original targets set by the government through their reconstruction and development agenda. He further believes that "the shortcomings are attributable mainly to haste, authoritarian inclinations among officials in the field, and inadequate research and planning" (Lodge, 1999, p. 35). Lodge goes further and states that the government's policies are poorly integrated and that the government officials lack the necessary imagination and vision for development programmes, yet they choose to ignore the NGO sector which possesses, according to Lodge, the appropriate experience and knowledge of what is required.

NGOs on the other hand are struggling for survival. Dwindling donor funds, the flight of NGO personnel to government services, the increased acceptance of the new democratic state, and the changing policy environment, pose severe challenges to this sector in their efforts to remain, firstly viable and secondly relevant to the needs of communities. Because of the immense task of development, given the scale of the problem outlined earlier, NGOs are still very involved in development programmes. As a way of ensuring their continued survival, they must account for their activities in a way that will endear them to the communities they serve, the donors who provide the funds and the government structures that have become potential partners and sources of work. The transitional phase in the country has affected every person and every institution. Mossel Bay, the place where the community development intervention occurred, is no exception.

Evaluating community development has unique methodological problems, especially around unit of analysis, measurement, and finding valid or control groups. Furthermore, the implementation of a community development programme in any context is a complex task, but in a shifting policy environment, the complexity of the task is multiplied by a hundred. In this new environment of transparency and accountability there is often a haste to provide the 'the results' or the outcomes and even the impact of interventions. Yet with all the programme evaluations completed in South African to date, there is very little indication that these results have been or are influencing policies, programmes and procedures (De Vos, 1998). The focus on

outcomes only is limiting and is generally fashioned into a 'black box' type of evaluation that provide little or no information about the programme context and unique features.

This study represents a necessary shift in focus. A focus that attempts to deal head-on with the complexities of social programmes, that seeks to find and discover, if not answers, the questions needed to be asked by evaluators of social intervention programmes and more crucially by programme initiators. For these reasons, this study is not only justified, but central to our understanding of underlying change mechanisms operating explicitly and implicitly in the development environment.

Methodology

This study is a case study, not of the community development programme as implemented by the Centre for Community Development, but of the evaluation of the programme implementation. It is also not a case study methodology employed to evaluate a programme but a methodological vehicle employed to focus on a particular approach to programme evaluation.

This study of an evaluation approach takes its lead from a number of sources that inform its overall framework. Of particular interest and use is Yin's (1984) articulation of the case study as an empirical inquiry that:

- Investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when
- The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which
- Multiple sources of evidence are used (p. 23).

This 'definition' is supported by Bassey (1999), who emphasises that *sufficient* data must be collected in order for the researcher to explore significant features of the case under study. Similarly, Robson (1993) refers to the case study as an investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within it real life context using, as stated by Yin,

multiple sources of evidence. For Stake(1995) the case study is about coming to understand the activities of a single case within important circumstances. The notion of a single case in a particular context resonates well with this study of an evaluation of a single community development programme.

However, case study approaches have been criticised for having this singular focus. It has been suggested that case study writers are often in danger of reinventing the wheel. Also that the 'rejection' of generalisation in some case study literature will doom case studies to remain one-off affairs. Research studies, according to these critics, must always be explicitly developed into more general frameworks so that they can contribute to the cumulation of knowledge and theoretical insight. On the other hand, case study researchers reject these criticisms. For them, "an essential feature of case study is that sufficient data are collected so that researchers are able to explore significant features of the case and to put forward interpretations of what is observed" (Bassey, 1999, p. 47). Nor do case study researchers 'reject' the notion of generalisation. What they do object to is the insistence that statistical generalisation is the only appropriate form of generalisation. Bassey (1999) quotes Yin to support his argument:

> In statistical generalization, an inference is made about a population (or universe) on the basis of empirical data collected from a sample … a fatal flaw in doing case studies is to conceive of statistical generalization as the method of generalizing the results of a case. (p. 31)

Instead, Yin promoted 'analytic generalisation' as a more appropriate method for the case study. Analytic generalisation, according to Yin, would be the use of previously developed theory as a template with which to compare the empirical results of a case study. Besides analytic generalisation, other proponents of the case study approach have offered 'naturalistic generalisations' (Stake, 1995) which means conclusions arrived at through personal engagement in the affairs under study.

> Stake contrasted these naturalistic generalizations, which are *made personally by the reader*, with the 'propositional generalizations' (or assertions) *made*

> *public by the researcher.* He urged case researchers to consider with care how much of their writing should provide input for the readers' naturalistic generalizations and how much should spell out the researchers' propositional generalizations. (Bassey, 1999, p. 33)

Trumbull (1998) offers some explanation for Stake's argument above by referring to three realities that exist for researchers and public alike.

> The first is an external reality, the second is a reality formed of those interpretations of simple stimulation, an experiential reality representing external reality so persuasively that we seldom realize our ability to verify it. The third is a universe of integrated interpretations, our rational realities. Realities two and three are understandings reached by each individual, but much will be held in common. (p. 70)

Bassey considers Stakes's concept of naturalistic generalisation to be similar to Tripp's (1985) 'qualitative generalization'. He, (Bassey) also offers Stenhouse's conception of predictive generalisation and retrospective generalisation. The former arises from the study of samples and where data are accumulated in the sciences (statistical generalisation). The latter occurs in the analysis of case studies where historical data (non-numerical) are accumulated and studied. The present study does not reject the notion of generalisation. Its essence as a case study is captured in the following description of a case study:

> Theory-seeking and theory-testing case studies … These are particular studies of general issues. The singularity is chosen because it is expected in some way to be typical of something more general. The focus is the issue rather than the case as such. It is what Stake (1995) calls 'instrumental case study'. (Bassey, 1999, p. 62)

The 'issue' for this study is a particular take on the evaluation of a community development programme in a South African context. Furthermore, Yin provides a more directed framework for this case study with his articulation of an *embedded case*

study design. An embedded case study design, according to Yin, focuses on a single programme but the analysis include an investigation of the subunits or projects within the larger single programme. Yin warns that a major pitfall of such a design is that the case study may focus only on the subunit level and fail to return to the larger unit of analysis. The definition of the unit, or units of analysis is related to the way the initial research questions have been defined.

Addressing the first research question listed earlier, this study takes Weiss' (1998) position that programme evaluation applies the methods of social science research, both quantitative and qualitative. The principles and methods normally applied to all other types of research, must be applied in programme evaluation as well (Weiss, 1998; Clarke and Dawson, 1999). "What distinguishes evaluation research is not method or subject matter, but intent – the purpose for which it is done" (Weiss, 1998, p.15). It is this context that arguments for a theory-driven approach to programme evaluation are presented. The arguments stem from the inability of 'black-box' types of evaluation research to account for the results that emanate from this particular design. Support for this position is provided within the historical development of programme evaluation, the multiple strands that have emerged over the years, the different purposes assigned and appropriated by evaluation practices and finally, based on these purposes, the different types of evaluations that are currently being pursued. This is followed by an exposition of the prevailing discourse in support of theory-driven evaluations. As a means to present a more balanced view of the approach, critique of the theory-driven approach from within as well as detractors outside this position, is also provided.

Programme evaluation, as an emerging discipline in the social sciences, is not immune to the philosophical debates in the social sciences. Evaluators, as do all social scientists, make methodological choices based on the particular context of a programme and the requirements spelt out by those commissioning the evaluation. In addition, different evaluation practices reflect different methodological, epistemological and even ideological assumptions. The meta-theoretical positions and their underlying assumptions are presented in chapter three. The methodological considerations for this study are then located within these positions.

The implications for choosing a theory-driven approach to evaluation is explored through an evaluation of a community development programme. In terms of design, the evaluation of the community development programme was organised in five phases. These phases are called domains, a term, within the evaluation context, borrowed from Chen (1990). Each domain or phase had its own specific research question and the phases were as follows:

Phase one: Research question.

> What are the theoretical propositions underpinning the intervention as conceptualised by the 1) executive management of the programme, 2) the official documentation of the organisation, and 3) the programme implementers? [Intervention domain]

Phase one of the evaluation dealt with the intervention domain that sought to construct, with help of programme staff, the programme theory. Interviews were conducted with the executive management of CCD, programme implementers in the Mossel Bay area as well as key informants (clients). Official documents of the organisation were also used to support these efforts**.**

Phase two: Research question.

> What are the attitudinal and conceptual shifts, if any, of the participants during and at the end of the intervention? [Implementation environment domain]

Phase two, the implementation environment domain, involved observation of training workshops as well as interviews with participants, presenters and other key informants in the community. A unique feature of this domain was the training and use of local people to assist in this task.

Phase three: Research questions

> What has been the overall effect of this programme on the community – community as defined by the programme staff?
> What are the mechanisms for change triggered by the programme and how do they counteract, if at all, the existing social processes? [Outcome domain]

Phase three of the evaluation considered the outcome domain of the community development programme and looked at the overall effect of the programme on the community. A survey, using a representative sample of the target community, was conducted. In addition, follow-up meetings were organised with individuals who had been exposed to training offered through the intervention.

Phase four: Research question.

> To what extent are these changes related to the rationale and aims (theory) of the intervention? [Impact domain]

Phase four, the impact domain, involved a path analysis of one intervention, using a specific framework to document the participants' experiences at certain points in the intervention. Another project was subjected to a comparative study of a similar activity in the community, one assisted through the programme and one operating independently of the intervention.

Phase Five: Research question.

> What are the implications of these theoretical insights for the implementation of community development programmes in South Africa? [Generalisation domain]

The last phase, the generalisation domain, was included to assist the study to look beyond the results of the programme under study. This domain was about assessing

how the programme theory and its effects related to other models currently operating in South Africa.

Definitions

Throughout this study, the terms ‘programme evaluation’ and ‘evaluation research’ will be used interchangeably. The first term foregrounds the programme under study, normally an intervention aimed at addressing personal and/or socio-economic needs of people, and the second emphasises the way of studying the programme, that is, through accepted scientific research practice.

Reference to ‘this study’ may at times refer to the overall case study and at other times specifically to the evaluation of the community development programme used within the broader study.

The use of the term **theory** in theory-based evaluation has been problematic for some evaluators. Scriven (1998) for example holds that theories are sets of propositions that jointly provide explanations and integration, and for him it is obvious that what is described as theory in theory-based evaluation does not satisfy the criteria to be termed ‘theory’. In a similar vain, evaluation practitioners found that, while promoting a ‘theory of change’ agenda within a programme, they could not use the term ‘theory’ with people they interviewed because of its level of abstraction. They ended up using ‘pathways to change’ and other terms, rather than ‘theory’. However, this study concurs with Weiss (1998, 2000) who does not assign the abstract meaning to the term. For Weiss, and for this study, it is ‘a set of beliefs that underlie action’ and this is in line with Bickman (1987) who describes theory in this context as “a plausible and sensible model of how a program is supposed to work.” (p. 5).

Closely linked to the above concern is the combined term of **theory-based** evaluation. Elsewhere others call it **theory-driven** evaluation and of late, **programme theory** evaluation. They all refer to the use of the intervention’s programme theory as a vehicle to guide the evaluation. In some evaluations the programme theory is

developed largely by the evaluator, and other programmes may have what they (Owen, 1993; Rogers, 1998) call logic models, and these are then used to assist the evaluation.

Some people prefer to use the term 'theory-based evaluation' because it can be construed that in 'theory-driven' evaluation, a particular theory should 'drive' the evaluation. Similarly, the term 'programme theory evaluation' is avoided because it can create the impression that the primary focus here is the evaluation of the programme theory rather than the programme itself (Davidson, 2000). These are merely possible misconceptions people may have of these terms. Mostly, proponents of this approach state their preferred terminology and define it within the context it is being used. References will be made to all these terms but the term **theory-based** will be used throughout when referring to the present study.

Limitations and boundaries of the study

The primary purpose of social programmes is to improve the human condition, and one of the most important contributions of programme evaluation is to help determine whether the intended improvements of these programmes are actually delivered. However, social programmes are dynamic entities, which are established for a variety of reasons. Some programmes are established to address real needs that are threatening the social fabric of societies. Others are created simply because there are financial resources available, or because certain individuals feel passionate about particular kinds of activities, or other programmes are created for political gain. Also, social programmes, addressing real needs are not necessarily the best available options, as many programmes are selected because they cost less than other available programmes.

The community development programme under investigation in this study was initiated during 1997 and came to an end during 2000. The evaluation process was started during 1999, the last year of the programme implementation. A major concern for programme evaluation is whether a programme is evaluable or not. That is, if the programme had been in place long enough for it to achieve its objectives. Programme

evaluation can be inhibited if there is a lack of definition of the problem addressed, of the intervention, of the expected outcomes and of the expected impact on the problem. There will also be problems with the evaluation if there is a lack of a clear logic of testable assumptions linking expenditure of programme resources, the implementation of the programme, the outcomes to be caused by the programme, and the resulting impact. All these concerns can be assessed before the evaluation in the form of an evaluability assessment as promoted by Wholey (1987). No evaluability assessment was conducted for this study prior to the start of the evaluation process. The programme was coming to an end because of an agreed time-frame with the donors.

The role of the evaluator

Weiss (1998) is of the opinion that an evaluator's role is becoming more and more complex. Intervention programmes have many stakeholders, not only those who implement but programme funders, the clients and probably politicians who stand to benefit or not through the intervention. For this reason she suggests that the evaluator's decisions about the shape of the study cannot be based on theoretical or technical grounds alone. The evaluator's plan should be negotiated with stakeholder groups, and only once they have given the go ahead can one be assured of cooperation and necessary resources.

At the start of this evaluation, this researcher occupied the position of regional director of CCD, the organisation responsible for implementing the community development programme. This position no longer exists, but as regional director this researcher had to manage the staff who were involved in implementing projects in the region. The CCD management was approached with a proposal for the evaluation, this was agreed and resources were made available on one condition, that selected local people be trained in evaluation skills and that local people be utilised in the data gathering process. The extent to which this study can be called an insider or outsider perspective can be debated. This study had the benefits of insider knowledge of the programme content and process and an established relationship with programme staff as well as the freedom to operate in a detached manner as evaluator of the programme. As a staff

member of the organisation it has been easy to request people to meet to discuss various issues related to the evaluation or to interview individuals and groups. This task would have been much more difficult for someone from outside the organisation. Staff members were very open, encouraging and cooperative, a condition that an outside person would have had to work hard and long to create. In this sense this study benefited from insider knowledge and connections. However, in terms of decisions about research design, implementation and reporting of the study, it was not a collaborative effort. All the errors made in this study remain the responsibility of this researcher.

Chapter outline

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter two provides a historical overview of programme evaluation and presents some of the philosophical orientations presently existing in evaluation research. The overview covers the international roots and developmental routes of programme evaluation. There is also a specific reference to the development of programme evaluation in South Africa. Selected definitions of programme evaluation are used to frame the present study and the multiple strands, based on philosophical and ideological differences, identified. The central feature of programme evaluation that distinguishes it from other forms of social research, namely purpose, is introduced and discussed using Scriven's formative and summative distinction as a point of departure. Several other formulations are also introduced and discussed in the context of different types of evaluations that have emerged. A case is then made for the use of theory-based evaluation as an appropriate approach to studying complex intervention initiatives. Theory-based evaluation is discussed in terms of its historical development, its core intentions and the specific functions or benefits that can be gained from an evaluation that has a clear programme theory. In a similar vain, the limitations and barriers to the use of programme theory are also presented. This chapter is concluded by a brief but detailed articulation of critiques of the theory-based approach to evaluation. These critiques are drawn from various sources which focus on different aspects of theory-based evaluation that do not fit into

their understandings of programme evaluation conceptualisations and practices. Lastly, a response to these critiques is provided.

A discussion of different paradigmatic stances in social research is introduced in chapter three: Firstly, to explain the so-called paradigm wars and secondly to present the broad methodological landscape of choices available to programme evaluation research. Guba and Lincoln's (1998) framework of inquiry paradigms is used to explore the ontological, epistemological and methodological arguments and representations of various research approaches. The methodological choices for programme evaluation are extrapolated and the choices for this study clarified. The section entitled 'from method focus to theory focus', narrows down the particular orientation for the study. This is followed by an outline of the evaluation design and the data analysis procedures employed in the evaluation of the community development initiative.

In chapter four the focus of the evaluation research, community development, is discussed. Concepts embedded within the term 'community development' are unpacked. For example, the concept 'community' is discussed in terms of its historical understanding and development. More recent interpretations and uses of the term are also shared. In particular, the historical development and use of the term 'community' in South Africa is outlined. This is followed by a discussion of the concept 'development' where particular theoretical orientations are shared. Community development as a practice is then examined, looking at various intellectual traditions and models. A brief synopsis of community development in South Africa is provided and this is followed by interpretations of the concept empowerment, particularly in its relationship to community development. The central purpose for this chapter is the development of a theoretical framework for the evaluation.

Chapter five briefly outlines the research context, that is, Mossel Bay. Mossel Bay is described in terms of its history, its key features, the population demographics and migration and its economic status. The CCD intervention programme in Mossel Bay is then outlined as explained by the CCD management and official documents of the

organisation. The evaluation findings then follow with each phase explained and the findings presented.

Chapter six deals with the evaluation findings as presented in chapter five. Each set of findings is discussed, and analysed and interpreted using the theoretical reference framework developed in chapter four and other sources cited in this study. The chapter concludes with recommendations based on the interpretation of the findings.

The last chapter, chapter seven summarises the study, presents conclusions about the research questions, conclusions about the research problem and discusses the implications for theory, policy and practice and further research.

The next chapter, chapter two, provides an exposition of programme evaluation and more specifically theory-based evaluation.

CHAPTER TWO
PROGRAMME EVALUATION AND THEORY-BASED EVALUATION

Introduction

The central aim of this chapter is to present existing arguments for choosing a theory-driven approach to programme evaluation. As a way of addressing the first research question as outlined in chapter one, that is, *why are theory-based evaluations better than black box evaluations*, this chapter maps out the broad field of programme evaluation. The field of programme evaluation presented here is to be found within the realm of human activities be it through structured programmes or social intervention aimed at improving social conditions. The specific evaluation research activities referred to are located within the programme evaluation research genre as opposed to performance appraisal or financial auditing with its human resources development roots.

The operational boundaries of programme evaluation as discussed below, provide some insight into how practitioners in this field generally demarcate their space and where this study is positioned in the broad social research landscape. The brief historical overview of the development and growth of programme evaluation in the international arena presents its performance measurement roots and point out the significant events that catapulted programme evaluation into its present form. Programme evaluation's comparatively young history in South Africa is highlighted and serves as motivation for the present study.

Programme evaluation, as an inter-disciplinary social research activity is defined and multiple strands that have developed over the years are presented. The initial strands stemmed mainly from different methodological approaches evaluators chose to employ. This discussion is followed by an elaboration of the various purposes of programme evaluation as identified by different evaluators. The various purposes of

programme evaluation spawned different types of evaluations and determined the foci of these practices. The heading 'Why theory-based evaluation?' signals a departure from the broad field of programme evaluation to the specific focus on theory-based evaluation and a motivation for its choice in this study.

A review of the historical and philosophical orientations of theory-based evaluation is presented and followed by a look at the functions of programme theory as presented by various proponents of theory-based evaluation. This section is concluded by an extrapolation of the limits and barriers to the use of programme theory and a summary of critique, generated from various sources, levelled at theory-based evaluation.

Programme evaluation

Different proponents and different users of evaluation research findings define programme evaluation differently. These different definitions reflect divergent methodological, epistemological as well as ideological assumptions. The point of departure here is not 'definitions' but to outline in general terms what programme evaluation is about.

Programme evaluation research is about assessing and establishing if social 'intervention' programmes, aimed at addressing social needs, are in fact needed, are effective and are likely to be used (Potter, 1999). These social programmes can be in the form of policies, directed activities, special projects and/or specific and general services to the public or targeted audiences. Pawson and Tilley (1997) in their chapter entitled, 'A history of evaluation in 28½ pages', mocks Scriven (1980) who is cited as declaring that the scope of evaluation is 'everything'. Their concern is that the term evaluation "now carries so much baggage that one is in danger of dealing not so much with a methodology as with an incantation" (p. 2). Weiss (1998) agrees that the phenomena to be evaluated can be diverse and she limits the scope of programme evaluation to programmes and policies aimed at improving the lot of people. Programmes can deal with education, social welfare, health, housing, economic development and a host of other fields. Similarly, central, provincial or local

governments, government agencies, non-government organisations and/or local communities can implement the programmes. For Weiss (1998), programmes' "common characteristic is the goal of making life better and more rewarding for the people they serve" (p. 4). This sentiment or vision for social science research is echoed by Mouton (1998) who draws on earlier social theorists, namely Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte, who according to him, "defended the position that it is the ultimate aim of all social science inquiry to improve the human condition" (p. 2).

Rossi and Freeman (1993) also place their emphasis on evaluation of programmes that are designed to improve the human condition, "rather than those designed for other purposes, such as increasing profits or amassing influence and power" (p. 6). Since people evaluate all the time, they make judgments, they compare products and information using sets of criteria, Weiss (1998) makes it clear that programme evaluation refers to evaluation research. She states that:

> In its research guise, evaluation establishes clear questions for inquiry. It collects evidence systematically from a variety of people involved with the program. It sometimes translates the evidence into quantitative terms …, and sometimes it crafts the data into telling narratives. (p. 4)

Evaluation research of any social programme or intervention, according to Rossi and Freeman (1993), systematically employs social research approaches to gather valid and reliable evidence. "This commitment to the 'rules' of social research is at the core of our perspective on evaluation" (p. 6). But, as Worthen and Sanders (1987) state, "formal evaluation (at least of educational and social programs) has only begun to mature as a conscious, purposeful activity, with major developments occurring over the past 20 years" (p. 11). Some of these major developments will be mentioned in the brief history outlined in the next section.

The social research location of programme evaluation and its inter-disciplinary nature are what attracted this researcher to this field of inquiry. This study is informed by the emphasis above on the systematic application of research methods and the orientation to improve the human condition.

A brief history of programme evaluation

Using his alter-ego, Halcolm as source, Patton (1997), through parody, would have us believe that evaluation started with the beginning of the world. "God thought about these questions all that day and His rest was greatly disturbed. On the eighth day God said, 'Lucifer, go to hell.' Thus was evaluation born in a blaze of glory…" (p. 1). While this is obviously far-fetched and merely parody, Worthen and Sanders (1987) point to the Chinese who practised the evaluation of individual performance as early as 2000 B.C. According to them, the "Chinese officials conducted civil service examinations to measure proficiency of public officials" (p. 12). Worthen and Sanders do not regard this as 'formal' evaluation and they confirm that prior to the mid-1800s, formal evaluations of education and social programmes were non-existent.

The fields of education and health were initial targets for evaluation studies (Rossi and Freeman, 1993;Weiss, 1998a). Weiss (1998) suggests that the first study that could be labelled evaluative would be that of A.M. Guerry, a Frenchman, who "published a statistical study in 1883 that attempted to show that education did not reduce crime" (p. 11). Patton (1997) provides the example of an American, Joseph Rue's comparative study during 1897. The study focused on the spelling performance by 33,000 students based on achievement tests. Worthen and Sanders (1987) provide the following insight into the history of educational evaluation in the U.S.:

> During the period 1838 to 1850, Americans Henry Barnard and Horace Mann - and later, William Torrey Harris - apparently introduced the practice of collecting data on which to base educational decisions. Their work began in the state education departments of Massachusetts and Connecticut and was continued in the United States Education Bureau with a process for collecting information to assist and support decision-making. Thus were sown the seeds of educational evaluation in the United States (p. 12).

Lacey and Lawton (1981) locate the development of evaluation in the United Kingdom within what they call the accountability movement. The first education grant of 20 000 pounds was voted by Parliament in 1833 to assist churches with their provision of education for working class children. Because the gaps were greater than expected, the demand for more money grew every year. An assessment followed and the Newcastle Report of 1861 "suggested that teachers were spending too little time on 'basic' subjects; the 1862 Revised Code stipulated exactly what children of each 'grade' should be able to perform in terms reading, writing and arithmetic …" (p. 26). Teachers were also subjected to a system of payment by results, hence the 'accountability' label.

In the medical field, R.C. Cabot, during 1912 published an evaluation of the quality of medical diagnosis. This was done by examining 3,000 autopsy reports, which were compared to the diagnoses that had been made of each case. And in 1914 Dr Ernest Codman promoted a particular way of evaluating performances of surgeons. He collected data from patients after they left the hospital as a way of measuring performance (Weiss, 1998a). However, these studies, as stated by Weiss, were still in the more generic field of 'performance appraisal'. Programme evaluation as a focused activity, directed at social programmes specifically designed to alleviate social problems, was as yet non-existent. The methodologies employed in the appraisals mentioned above would however set the tone and standards for initial methodologies employed in programme evaluation.

The post World War I and II periods saw huge efforts by governments in industrial countries to address emerging needs such as unemployment, poverty, urban development, housing, and preventative health activities. Ralph Tyler, 1942, who conceptualised the objectives-based approach to educational evaluation has managed to influence educational practices until today. School curricula across the world employ Tyler's objectives-based constructions. His work was also promoted through the establishment of the National Assessment of Educational Progress in the United States during the 1960s (Worthen and Sanders, 1987). The "War on Poverty" of the 1960s declared by Lyndon Johnson in the U.S., marked the beginning of large-scale government funded evaluation. Programmes aimed at the elimination of poverty, and

large-scale health programmes were all linked with a requirement of a systematic evaluation of the results of the money spent. (Patton, 1997; Mouton 1998; Weiss, 1998a) According to Worthen and Sanders (1987), " the most dramatic change in educational evaluation resulted from the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik I in 1957" (p. 16). New developments in especially science (biology, physics and chemistry) and mathematic were initiated as a response to this event and funds were made available to evaluate these curriculum development efforts. Weiss (1998a) sums up this period in relation to evaluation activities:

> In the field, a host of small centers and firms were established to undertake federally financed evaluations. University research centers enlarged their charters to encompass evaluation, special centers were set up, new not-for-profit and for-profit research and consulting organizations arrived on the scene, and established ones expanded into the evaluation area. Many researchers re-tooled their skills so as to take advantage of the new streams of money (p.13).

Patton (1997) states that programme evaluation as a distinct field of professional practice was born because of the socio-economic conditions at the time. These conditions still exist today. There are still limited resources to address many social problems and the need to base decisions about which things are worth doing on sound, acceptable criteria still exists.

In order for programme evaluation to become scientifically acceptable, it employed objective and systematic research methods and procedures (Mouton, 1998). Social science methodology, in particular statistical procedures for the design and analysis of complex experiments were well established in the fields of psychology and education. Contributions by Campbell and Stanley with their (1963) 'classic' text, *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Design for Research*, Cambell's (1969) *Reforms as Experiments* publication, and *Quasi-Experimentation* by Cook and Campbell (1979), conceptualised evaluation practice and provided the scientific guidance for most evaluations. Several studies, taking their lead from the above texts and using random assignment, were launched to assess programmes established for various purposes, e.g. prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquents, alternative penalties for drunk

driving, and social rehabilitation for former prisoners. The New Jersey Income Maintenance Experiment (1967) became the first large-scale use of experimental methods to test a proposed social policy in the field (Orr, 1999). Rossi and Freeman (1993) provide the following reasons for the growth of evaluation research:

> Evaluation Research prospered in the postwar years to a large extent because of developments in research methods and statistics applicable to the study of social problems, social processes, and interpersonal relations. At the same time, the need for sophisticated methods for evaluating social programs stimulated methodology work. In particular, two essential inputs contributed to the development of the field: improvement in systematic data collection brought about by the refinement of survey research procedures, and the development of electronic computers that made it possible to analytically examine large numbers of variables by means of multivariate statistics (p. 11).

Evaluation research activity in the U.S. during the 1970s gave rise to new professional associations for evaluators. The Evaluation Network, an interdisciplinary professional association of evaluators, was established in 1975. The Evaluation Network sponsored a quarterly publication, *Evaluation News*. The Evaluation Research Society also developed as a multi-disciplinary professional association for evaluators. It was formally established in 1976 and launched its own publications. A merger of these two associations in 1986 resulted in a new, broader based American Evaluation Association. Similar associations in Canada, Europe, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand soon followed.

The development of the field of evaluation research or programme evaluation in South Africa has been a comparatively recent phenomenon (Louw, 1998). Potter and Kruger (2001) illustrate this assertion with a 1998 PsychLIT database (Silverplatter International N.V.) search for references from 1974 to 1997 that produced only “fifteen articles and one book chapter that were indexed under ‘programme evaluation’ and ‘Africa’, out of a total of 4 721 articles and books that were indexed under ‘programme evaluation’ (p. 192). Eleven of the articles, including the book chapter were from South Africa, representing less than half a percent of the total available on that

database. Potter (1999) states that "evaluation research was relatively unknown until the early 1980s, and it is only in the 1990s that local scientists have demonstrated increased interest in the area" (p. 225). Louw's 1998 assessment of the field found that most of those engaged in evaluation research were 'typically located' in university departments of education, sociology and psychology; university based health and education policy units; and in research bodies such as the Human Sciences Research Council and the Medical Research Council. Louw pointed out the lack of opportunities to receive formal training in evaluation methodologies. This situation has improved dramatically since his assessment. More courses in programme evaluation are now on offer at universities and the Association for Educational Evaluation in South Africa (ASEESA) has been organising conferences and publishes a journal dedicated to assessment and evaluation in education. The ASEESA journal and the conferences focus mainly on the assessment of learner performance in school education and give limited attention to programme evaluation as defined in this text. Interestingly however, De Vos (1998) refers to an official document, Circular No. 6 of 1987, issued by the then Department of Health Services and Welfare, Administration: House of Assembly. According to De Vos, this initiative formally introduced the concept of programme development and evaluation in South Africa but it was limited initially only to the white population in the country. This piece of information suggests part of the reason for the slow development of programme evaluation in South Africa as well as the particular political and selective use of social science research during the Apartheid era.

Louw's 'informal' survey of programme evaluation and the types of evaluations produced in South Africa revealed that qualitative approaches to programme evaluation was the dominant one and experimental, including quasi-experimental designs were present but not in great numbers. He found that most of the work involved formative rather than summative evaluation. Of particular interest to the present study is the following statement by Louw (1998):

> Programme *theory* appears to be very much neglected. More attention is needed to the question: Why should a programme work? To provide an

> answer, programme inputs, outputs, and the causal processes which mediate the relationship between inputs and outputs should be studied (p. 264).

The questions raised by Louw above, and his identification of the neglect of programme theory development are further motivation for the current research. This study addresses both the paucity in evaluation research studies in South Africa, as well as the need to focus on programme theory as identified and recognized by Louw in his review of programme evaluation in this country.

Definitions and multiple strands

Rossi and Freeman (1993) define programme evaluation or evaluation research as;

> … the systematic application of research procedures for assessing the conceptualisation, design, implementation and utility of social intervention programs (p. 5).

Compare this to Michael Q. Patton's (1997) definition:

> Program evaluation is the systematic collection of information about the activities, characteristics, and outcomes of programs to make judgements about the program, improve program effectiveness, and/or inform decisions about future programming (p. 23).

It should be noted that the systematic collection of information, forms the basis of the research activity. The first definition emphasises the use of research procedures to do this, and we are alerted to the fact that the results are generated for a variety of possible judgments and uses.

The underlying 'research' component of evaluation has always been informed by the prevailing social science debates. Campbell's (1969) 'Reforms as Experiment'

indicates the wide use of experimentation as the preferred methodology in programme evaluation:

> Through the ideology of allocating scarce resources by lottery, through the use of staged innovation, and through the pilot project, true experiments with randomly assigned control groups can be achieved. If the reform must be introduced across the board, the interrupted time-series design is available. If there are similar units under independent administration, a control series design adds strength. If a scarce boon must be given to the most needy or to the most deserving, quantifying this need or merit makes possible the regression continuity analysis (Campbell, 1969, p. 428).

Rossi and Freeman (1993) regard this 1969 (quoted above) paper of Donald Campbell as the single most influential article in the evaluation field. It outlined an ideological position and forwarded a perspective that all policy and programme decisions should emerge from continual testing and social experimentation. Experimental methods, because they were relatively simple and intuitively understandable, appealed, at least conceptually to policymakers. Policymakers could appreciate the logic of the experimental contrast between one group exposed to the programme and another, which differed from the first only by chance, that was not exposed to the programme. This made experimental studies more accessible and credible to policymakers and lay-persons in the policy process (Orr, 1999).

On the other hand, Lee Cronbach, also a statistician and a respected researcher acknowledged that scientific investigations and evaluation efforts may use the same logic and research procedures but argued that the purpose and intent of evaluations differentiated them from normal scientific investigations. He regarded evaluation as an art where every evaluation represents “an idiosyncratic effort to meet the needs of program sponsors and stakeholders” (Rossi and Freeman, 1993, p. 30). For Pawson and Tilley (1997) “the experimental paradigm constitutes a heroic failure, promising so much and yet ending up in ironic anti-climax” (p. 8).

The above two ‘counter-points’ to the experimental approach to evaluation serve to introduce some of the myriads of strands that have developed in the field of evaluation. As with all scientific endeavours there are philosophical and ideological differences in approaches to evaluation. Evaluation research, as a field of study did not escape the ‘paradigm wars’. Different approaches to establishing truth or merit, based on philosophical assumptions about epistemology and value, are largely responsible for the diversity of views about evaluation. An objectivist epistemology, as termed by House (1983) informed those activities which require evaluation information to be scientifically objective and use data collection and analysis techniques that yield results reproducible and verifiable by other competent persons using the same techniques. A subjectivist epistemology, on the other hand and according to House, based its validity claims on an appeal to experience rather than scientific method. The different philosophical assumptions about knowledge and value gave rise to different evaluation methods. Experimental and quasi-experimental approaches dominated, primarily through the work of Campbell and Stanley (1963, 1966). Evaluators during the 1960s on the whole, considered qualitative and naturalistic methods as ‘soft’ options. “Qualitative and naturalistic methods, largely shunned by most evaluators during the 1960s as ‘soft’ gained wider acceptance in the 1970s and thereafter as proposals for their application to programme evaluation were made by Parlett and Hamilton 1976, Stake 1978, 1980, Eisner 1976, Guba and Lincoln 1981 and others” (Worthen and Sanders, 1987, p. 50).

Recently however, the dialogue has begun to move beyond this debate, with analysts increasingly discussing the benefits of integrating both methods within an evaluation study. Worthen and Sanders (1987) use Talmage’s 1982 categorisation of evaluators according to methodology: experimentalists, eclectics, describers, and cost-benefit analysts.

Table 2.1 Four methodological approaches in program evaluation

	Experimentalist Cook and Campbell (1979) Riecken and Boruch (1974) Rivlin and Timpane (1975)	Eclectics Bryk (1978) Cronbach and others (1980) Weiss and Rein (1972)	Describers Parlett and Hamilton (1977) Patton (1980) Stake (1975)	Benefit-cost Analysers Haller (1975) Levin (1975) Thompson (1980)
Philosophical Base	Positivist	Modified positivist to pragmatist	Phenomeno-logical	Logic/Analytic
Disciplinary Base	Psychology	Psychology; Sociology; Political Science	Sociology; Anthropology	Economics; Accounting
Focus of methodology	Identify causal links	Augment search for causal links with process and contextual data	Describe program holistically and from perspective of the participants	Judge worth of program in terms of cost and benefits
Methodology	Experimental and quasi-experimental designs	Quasi-experimental designs; case studies; descriptions	Ethnography; case studies; participant observation; triangulation	Benefit-cost analysis
Variables	Predetermined as input-output	Predetermined plus emerging	Emerging in course of evaluation	Predetermined
Evaluator's role	Independent of programme	Cooperative	Interactive	Independent of programme

Adapted: Talmage, 1982, in Worthen and Sanders 1987, p. 55.

The table above provides an analysis of the philosophical paradigms on which the various methodologies used in evaluation research are based. According to this table, the methodological approaches are influenced by particular philosophical assumptions, which in turn dictate the focus of the methodology and the methodology itself. What is also useful in this categorisation is the influence of the disciplinary base that informs each approach. Evaluation research as a form of applied research is cast by its history and nature as a multi-disciplinary activity.

Potter and Kruger (2001) however, reduce the rich spread of methodological approaches to programme evaluation to only three methodological categories. First they refer to a *systematic and measurement-based approach* that , according to them, conceptualises programmes as entities producing effects that can be measured, using social science research, and is based on positivist assumptions. They lump experimental , quasi-experimental, objective-based, comprehensive evaluation models, theory-driven approach all under this approach. Their biggest criticism of the systematic and measurement-based approach, as defined and categorised by them, is "that the evaluation is aimed at the programme as an entity, rather than on the different conceptions, aspirations, and values of those involved in the programme (p.196)." This study is in complete disagreement with this conception of evaluation attributed to the approaches listed by Potter and Kruger (2001). The basis for this disagreement is spelt out later but it will also become evident in the application of a theory-driven approach to evaluation as discussed in this study.

The second approach they mention is the *interpretive and naturalistic approach.* This alternative approach to the 'numbers game' that describes the previous approach, involved the exclusive use of qualitative methods, and considered itself more holistic. The underlying imperative for this approach was to be sensitive to the different values, needs, and requirements of programme stakeholders. They regard illuminative evaluation, responsive evaluation and fourth generation evaluation as examples of this kind of approach. The third category for Potter and Kruger is the *critical and empowerment approach.* Located within the Critical social science, this approach view "researchers as being either conscious or unconscious agents of the operation of wider social forces, which act to reinforce or reproduce existing social order (p. 198)" The researchers role is to develop the capacity of those involved in social programmes so that they can reflect on their own situation and access power. Participatory evaluation, empowerment evaluation and action-based evaluation are some examples provided by Potter and Kruger.

This categorisation is interesting but very limited. The conflation of all possible approaches into these three categories reflects a common philosophical and methodological base among the examples raised within the approaches. This is clearly

not the case, and the understanding in this study is that programme evaluation, as a multi-disciplinary activity, more often than not, spans across divides rather than be constrained by ideological considerations. Their categorisation also confuses unit of analysis issues with methodological and philosophical concerns.

Despite the philosophical and methodological debates, or rather because of these debates, programme evaluation continues to be the busiest and active sector in social science. Rossi and Freeman (1993) noted that evaluation research was more than the application of methods, more than an isolated academic concern and that it operated in the context of the social policy and public administration movements. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank, UNICEF and the European Union are examples of international development organisations with significant and active evaluation offices. During November 1995, the first-ever international evaluation conference was held in Vancouver, Canada. "With over 1,500 participants from 61 countries, this conference made it clear that evaluation had become a global challenge" (Patton, 1997, p. 15).

Evaluation research applies the methods of social science, both quantitative and qualitative. What distinguishes evaluation research from other research activities " is not method or subject matter, but – intent – the purpose for which it is done" (Weiss, 1998, p. 15). It is in this context, and with hindsight, that Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey (1999) present us with, according to them, a more complete definition of programme evaluation:

> Program evaluation is the use of social research procedures to systematically investigate the effectiveness of social intervention programs that is adapted to their political and organizational environments and designed to inform social action in ways that improve social conditions. (p. 20)

This definition guides the present study and as indicated before, programme evaluation is more than the systematic application of research methods it is also guided by the purpose of the evaluation. The next section looks at the various purposes for programme evaluation as articulated by different practitioners.

Purposes and types of evaluation studies

Clarke and Dawson (1999) credit Scriven, for introducing the most popular organising conceptual framework for evaluation research in 1967. Scriven used the terms/concepts formative and summative to describe two approaches to programme evaluation and this distinction or dichotomy has characterised evaluation research for decades. Formative evaluation, as articulated by Scriven was employed to provide feedback to people who wanted to improve a programme or an intervention. The emphasis in formative evaluation is on the gathering of information from programme planners, practitioners and participants to assess what changes are needed to improve the programme. Summative evaluation on the other hand focuses on the determination of overall effect of the programme. In contrast to the improvement agenda of formative evaluation, summative evaluation is employed with the intention of making recommendations whether the programme should continue to run or not. Clarke and Dawson provide a useful table that presents a comparison of the formative and summative approaches. The table compares the two approaches in terms of the target audience, the focus of data collection, the role of the evaluator and other practices related to programme evaluation.

Table 2.2 Formative and summative evaluation: a comparison

	Formative	Summative
Target audience	programme managers/ practitioners	policy-makers, funders, the public
Focus of data collection	clarification of goals, nature of implementation, identifying outcomes	implementation issues outcome measures
Role of evaluator	interactive	independent
Methodology	quantitative and qualitative (emphasis on latter)	emphasis on quantitative
Frequency of data Collection	continuous monitoring	limited
Reporting procedures	informal via discussion groups and meetings	formal reports
Frequency of reporting	throughout period of observation/study	on completion of evaluation

Source: **Herman et al**. (**1987**) **in Clarke and Dawson** (**1999**, **p**. **8**)

Formative evaluation, as stated before, is implemented to assess how a programme can be improved. It involves finding out and clarifying the aims, content and structure of programme as well as gaining an understanding of how the different components of the programme are expected to produce the desired effect. Formative evaluation more often than not employs qualitative data gathering techniques that are more suited for the detailed nuances involved in programme design and implementation. The evaluator operates very close to the staff and the programme activities, and provides feedback on the state of the programme – if planned activities are implemented as planned and if they are having the desired effects. Programme planners will use this information to make adjustments where necessary.

Summative evaluations are primarily concerned with determining the ultimate effect the programme or treatment is having on the targeted audience and they are usually commissioned by policy makers or sponsors who want to make a decision about the future of the programme. This is not about how the programme can be improved but whether the programme should continue to exist or not. Clarke and Dawson (1999) state that summative evaluation favours experimental and quasi-experimental research designs because of the need to determine whether a programme works or not. The evaluator adopts a more distant role, operating outside the programme dynamics with the focus on the outcomes of the programme. This distinction between these two types of evaluation has been extremely useful to evaluators over the last few decades. Clarke and Dawson (1999) make the point that while some evaluators readily express strong preference for one or the other, "both types of evaluation have their uses and it is wrong to assume that one is intrinsically superior to the other; whichever is more appropriate can only be decided when the circumstances of the evaluation inquiry are known" (p. 11).

Chen (1996) however, challenges the basic formative/summative dichotomy introduced by Scriven. He argues that it has been confusing and that it does not cover many relevant, important kinds of evaluation. Scriven's use of Robert Stake's analogy to describe the formative/summative distinction: "When the cook tastes the soup, that's formative evaluation; when the guest tastes it, that's summative evaluation" (in Chen,

1996, p.122) is also challenged. Chen (1996) argues the shortcomings of formative evaluation as conceptualised in the analogy, as follows:

> The cook does not always taste the soup for the purposes of improvement. The cook may taste the soup to determine whether the soup is good enough to serve to the guests at all, especially if it is a new recipe. Upon testing the soup, s/he may feel it is good enough … Alternatively s/he may feel that soup is awful … In this case, the cook has not tasted the soup for the purposes of improvement as Scriven and Stake see it, but to reach a valuative conclusion. (p. 122)

Similarly, Chen (1996) argues that the summative nature of the 'guest's' tasting can also be challenged because a cook can use the opinions of the guests for the purposes of improving the soup in the future. Chen (1996) proposes, as an alternative to Scriven's formative/summative distinction, a typology which consists of the following four basic types of evaluation: process-improvement evaluation, process-assessment evaluation, outcome-improvement evaluation, and outcome-assessment evaluation.

The conceptual framework, according to Chen (1996), "is a basic typology made up of two domains: the program stage focused on by the evaluation, and the function of the evaluation" (p.123). Chen further argues that Scriven's dichotomy limits process evaluation (read formative) to programme improvement purposes and also limits outcome evaluation (read summative) to merit assessment purposes.

Table 2.3: Basic types of evaluation

EVALUATION FUNCTIONS

Program Stages	Improvement	Assessment
Process	Process - Improvement Evaluation	Process - Assessment Evaluation
Outcome	Outcome - Improvement Evaluation	Outcome - Improvement Evaluation

(Source: Chen, 1996, p.123)

Process-improvement evaluation provides information on the 'relative' strengths and weaknesses of a programme's processes of implementation with the purpose of improving them. This, for Chen, would be of instrumental use. It can also be conducted to provide 'enlightenment' in order to make decisions in general, and this would be of 'conceptual use.' The conceptual use does not relate to merit assessment of the implementation process but to the possibility of using the evaluation information in future programme designs in different localities.

Process-assessment evaluation "is conducted for the purpose of judging the merits of the implementation process" (Chen, 1996, p. 124). Chen suggests that this aspect of process evaluation is excluded from Scriven's dichotomy but it is frequently used in quality control measures. Process-assessment evaluation attempts to judge if the implementation of and intervention is successful or not or whether it is appropriate or not.

In outcome-improvement evaluation the information gathered is not necessarily used to provide an overall judgement of programme effectiveness or ineffectiveness as in summative evaluation. Rather, it assesses the relative strengths and/or weaknesses of programme components and implementation processes as they affect the programme

outcomes, in both the instrumental and conceptual sense (Chen, 1996). Chen's example of an outcome-improvement evaluation is the use of three treatment elements in an HIV prevention programme, namely, a video session, a group session, and a lecture. The outcome-improvement evaluation may be conducted to determine which element(s) are essential or more important than others to attain the outcome.

Outcome-assessment evaluation is synonymous with Scriven's definition of summative evaluation, where the information is used to provide an overall judgement of the programme in terms of its merits or worth, i.e whether the programme has achieved its goals. Chen's (1996) articulation of a broader, more embracing conceptual framework for evaluation practice, is not intended, according to him, to undermine the importance of Scriven's original formative/summative conceptual formulation; he acknowledges that the distinction is both 'inspiring and useful'. Scriven (1996) on the other hand, maintains that Chen had missed the plot and failed to consider the contextual nature of both formative and summative evaluation. He argues that Chen confuses evaluation with action in his interpretation of the 'cook and guests' analogy. He states that:

> It is thus essential to realize that the formative vs. summative distinction is context-dependent, just like the probable vs. certain distinction, and many others in everyday life and science, such as the precise vs. appropriate distinction. These are useful distinctions in a given context, but are not transcontextual. (p. 153)

Scriven disagrees with Chen who contends that the way he (Scriven) initially defined the formative/summative distinction is that formative evaluation is process evaluation, and summative evaluation is outcome evaluation. He maintains that his definitions have no such implications. While Scriven has long appeared to advocate summative over formative evaluation, Chen argues that both formative and summative evaluations are useful under certain circumstances (Chen, 1996). Scriven agrees with the mutual value to both formative and summative evaluations and explains himself as follows:

> I come to the defense of summative more often simply because more people in the evaluation literature have attacked it or dismissed it or underestimated it; but I do – and enjoy doing formative evaluation as much and more. (Scriven, 1996, p. 154)

Chen believes that Scriven's distinction should be applied under a proper framework to avoid confusion. He suggests that the distinction can be utilised when differentiating evaluation purposes, be they merit assessment or programme improvement. When it comes to evaluation types however, the distinction should be applied within the contextual needs of the evaluation, for example, the judicious use of both formative and summative evaluation in one study.

The growth in the scope and nature of evaluation activity over recent years has compelled people like Chen and others to develop a broader framework. For example, John M. Owen (1993) puts forward the following purposes for evaluation:

- Enlightenment
- Accountability
- Programme improvement
- Programme clarification
- Programme development
- Symbolic reasons. (p. 14)

The purposes above refer to a diverse set of requirements to be met by not necessarily a single evaluation but one purpose could inform one evaluation process. So, for example, the aims of an evaluation could be to inform (**enlighten**) users of the impact, strengths and weaknesses of a programme. Evaluation can be used as a tool to assist government or funding agencies in addressing **accountability** criteria in programme establishment. Owen (1993) states that "a major purpose for evaluation is to provide those responsible with information about ways in which a program could be made more effective" (p. 17). Owen calls this formative evaluation that can be of particular assistance when a programme is evolving. Another purpose for evaluation could be

clarification, where those directly involved in a programme do not all share the 'logic' of an existing intervention. Evaluation can also precede action and be used to help decision making about the best form of intervention. Hence, assisting with the **development** of the programme. Owen (1993) also highlights **symbolic** evaluation, which is not done for any of the above purposes but merely for show. It enables someone to give an appearance of action. He insists, "in such cases there is a strong argument for those undertaking evaluations to refuse to cooperate" (p. 18).

The last point resonates with 'other reasons' for evaluation which Weiss (1998) terms 'evaluation as subterfuge'. A distinction is made here between the purpose of the evaluation, that is, the purpose it will serve, a positive intention. As opposed to the reason for the evaluation, a more neutral perspective linked positively only to accountability (because it is required), and more negatively as subterfuge. This distinction is rather dubious because both purpose and reason can have positive neutral or negative intentions. What is clear however is the point that people sometimes engage in or request evaluations for less honourable purposes. Examples of evaluation as subterfuge would include commissioning an evaluation study as a way to delay decision-making - a postponement mechanism. Some people want to use evaluation findings to duck responsibilities or merely as window dressing. Evaluation has become a requirement with most externally funded programmes and very often it is done merely to fulfil grant requirements but not to look at the programme critically. Weiss (1998) provides the following four circumstances where evaluation may not be worthwhile:

- When the program has few routines and little stability.
- When people involved in the program cannot agree on what the program is trying to achieve.
- When the sponsor of the evaluation or program manager sets stringent limits to what the evaluation can study, putting off many important issues.
- When there is not enough money or no staff sufficiently qualified to conduct the evaluation. (p. 24)

Posovac and Carey (1997), who have both received numerous awards for the advancement of the practice of evaluation, link the purposes of evaluation to that of the responsibilities of planners and managers of social programmes. Planners and managers must ensure that available resources are used to meet 'unmet needs'**.** They put this seemingly obvious point forward because "services are sometimes offered without a careful dialogue with the people the program planners believe will want the programme services" (p. 2). Programme managers must check and verify that programmes do indeed provide the services they set out to deliver. They need to examine the results of the programmes, determine which services produce the best results and select the types of programmes that offer the most needed services. Evaluations can also support planners and managers in providing information to maintain and improve the quality of the programmes and lastly to help them pay attention to unplanned 'side-effects.' For Posovac and Carey (1997) these responsibilities of planners and managers represent the primary goals of evaluation and the goals can be met using a number of different types of programme evaluation; "the major ones involve studies of need, process, outcome and efficiency" (p. 7).

A similar categorisation of types of evaluation is presented in the widely used Rossi and Freeman (1993) textbook, *Evaluation: A Systematic Approach*. They identify three classes of evaluation studies.

- Analysis related to the conceptualization and design of interventions
- Monitoring of programme implementation
- Assessment of programme effectiveness and efficiency

Another classification was produced by the American Evaluation Research Society (ERS) in 1980 (Robson, 1993). This was before its amalgamation with the Evaluation Network that eventually became the American Evaluation Association.

- Front-end analysis
- Evaluability assessment
- Formative evaluation

- Impact evaluation
- Programme monitoring
- Evaluation of evaluation. (p. 178)

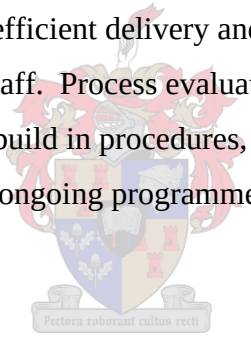
The overlap between these classifications should be obvious, with only the 'meta-evaluation' (evaluation of evaluation) of the ERS that adds critiques of evaluation reports, re-analysis of data and external reviews of internal evaluations as a distinct type of evaluation. Using Posovac and Carey's classification of evaluation types, we now look at the activities involved in the different types of evaluation.

Studies focussing on **the evaluation of need** take place before a programme starts. It (the evaluation) seeks to identify and measure the level of unmet needs within an organisation or community (Posovac and Carey, 1997). Also called 'front-end analysis' or 'needs assessment', this type of evaluation provides guidance for programme planning and implementation, it helps with the translation of needs into programme goals that could "eventually be spelled out in the behavioral language of specific and attainable objectives" (Isaac and Michael, 1995, p 24). Isaac and Michael (1995) alert us to the fact that there are different viewpoints regarding the definition of need. They provide the following possible definitions:

- The *Discrepancy View***:** A need is a discrepancy between desired performance and observed or predicted performance.
- The *Democratic View*: A need is a change desired by a majority of some reference group.
- The *Diagnostic View*: A need is something whose absence or deficiency proves harmful.
- The *Analytic View*: A need is the direction improvement is predicting, given information about current status. (p. 24)

However, Posovac and Carey's articulation of 'unmet' needs focuses the attention of the programme on needs that warrant the spending of limited resources.

The evaluation of process starts once a programme has been developed and is being implemented. It provides information for programme improvement, modification and management. Process evaluation is sometimes also referred to as 'formative' evaluation and used at regular intervals during the life of the programme to ensure that the intervention adapts to changes in social reality, that is, that the programme is being implemented as planned and yet able to evolve as needed. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995) also argue that any programme contains a theoretical as well as a practical aspect and that social scientists often wrongly assume that conditions and people are the same all around the world and that theories developed in far-off places are just as valid locally. They state that in a formative evaluation the social scientist must also consider, on a theoretical level, "whether the theoretical content of the programme has been adequately adapted to the social reality and whether conceptual definitions have been adequately operationalised" (p. 50). Besides assessing if the programme is serving the intended target audience, process evaluation can also contribute to equitable service delivery, more efficient delivery and also affect the quality of the services offered by programme staff. Process evaluation acknowledges the dynamic nature of programmes and helps build in procedures, which enable managers and others to modify and improve an ongoing programme on a continuous basis (Owen, 1993; Rossi and Freeman, 1993).



The evaluation of outcome is used to assess merit or worth of a settled programme. Typical approaches include the extent and level of attainment of specified objectives, the level of performance indicators, or the compilation of both intended and unintended outcomes (Owen, 1993). Typical questions the evaluation of outcome would need to consider are: How should people from the target community behave if the programme is successful? What should they be able to do? What type of action is expected from them? What statements on behaviour of these people can be used to assess whether or not the aims and objectives have been fulfilled (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995)? These questions can be best answered in the evaluation of outcomes, and according to Babbie and Mouton (2001) the evaluation design that is able to address these question is the pre-test-post-test design. The underlying logic would be to see if the intervention (the cause) made any difference (effect) to the target audience.

The evaluation of efficiency goes beyond the measurement of outcomes and establishes the cost benefit of the programme. It assesses if the programme achieves its success at a reasonable cost. Should there be several programmes running simultaneously, addressing the same problem, the evaluation of efficiency should be able to distinguish which programme achieves a higher level of success than others costing either the same or less to administer. The demand for efficiency of service provision, particularly in the public sector, have emerged as a result of limited availability of resources, stringent accountability measures and the growing need for more services. Evaluations that focussed on efficiency have sought to estimate costs and benefits of various alternative ways of providing services (Wright, Haycox and Leedhham, 1994). For Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein, (1971) the essence of an evaluation of efficiency is captured in the following question: "can the same program results be achieved by *either* reducing the amount of program effort *or* by choosing other, less costly alternatives [different kinds of efforts]" (p. 50)? Wright et al (1994) admit that there are numerous practical difficulties in evaluating all costs and benefits in money terms, but state that the "presentation of the cost and benefit issues in this form of a checklist facilitates more rational decision-making by emphasizing the need to analyze symmetrically both the cost and benefit arising from each policy option" (p. 23). This practice, also called 'cost-benefit analysis' have been augmented by 'cost-utility analysis' and 'cost-effectiveness analysis' in the health care sectors (Wright et al, 1994).

The above classification of types of evaluation in terms of needs, process, outcome and efficiency does not suggest that an evaluation should be a pure 'type'. The classification highlights the range of possibilities. In practice an evaluation will probably concern itself with several if not all these purposes and activities. There are many more specific evaluative activities, which might be listed. A useful barometer of specific evaluation activities is the 'active' list of Topical Interest Groups (TIGs) affiliated to the American Evaluation Association. These groups promote, advocate and collaborate around specific evaluation practices. The practices relate to either focus or problem area under evaluative investigation or to a methodological focus of evaluation practice. The groups are:

- Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health
- Assessment in Higher Education
- Business and Industry
- Cluster, Multi-site and Multi-level Evaluation
- Collaborative/Participatory and Empowerment Evaluation
- Computer Use in Evaluation
- Crime and Justice
- Distance Education and Other Educational Technologies
- Evaluation Managers and Supervisors
- Evaluation of Services for Special Needs Populations
- Evaluation Use
- Extension Education Evaluation
- Feminist Issues in Evaluation
- Health Evaluation
- Human Services Evaluation
- Independent Consulting
- International and Cross-cultural Evaluation
- Minority Issues
- Needs Assessment
- Non-profit and Foundations Evaluations
- Program Theory and Theory-driven Evaluation
- Qualitative Methods
- Quantitative Methods: Theory and Design
- Research Technology and Development
- State and Local Government
- Teaching and Evaluation
- Theories of Evaluation

  (AEA, 1998, p. 2)

This list excludes other historical and recent developments in evaluation methodology and evaluation foci such as; ‘goal-free evaluation’, ‘responsive evaluation’, utilization-

focused evaluation, 'realistic evaluation' and finally 'meta-evaluation.' The range of topics include examples of interests in focus area, e.g. Alcohol and Drugs, Higher Education, Business and Industry, Health, Human Services etc, another cluster of interests can be formed around evaluation methodology e.g. Qualitative, Quantitative, Theories, Cluster and multi-site etc, others have interests related to who is doing the evaluation e.g. Non-profit, Consultants etc, while potentially marginalised areas also receive attention through interests related to Minority Issues, Special Needs etc.. Feminist and realistic evaluation would resort more comfortably under a 'philosophical' interest cluster.

Pawson and Tilley (1997) express despair at the growth of and the wide range of designs and interest areas available to evaluators today. They accuse 'evaluation' of having become a mantra of modernity and that the term, 'evaluation' carries too much baggage, to the extent that it is in danger of losing its meaning. Rossi and Freeman (1993) however state that evaluations take place in a constantly shifting decision-making environment. They hold a pragmatic view that sees evaluation "as necessarily rooted in scientific methodology but responsive to resource constraints, to the needs and purposes of stakeholders, and to the nature of the evaluation setting" (p. 55).

Echoing the pragmatic view of Rossi and Freeman above and taking all the above classifications into account, this study accepts the following conceptual and methodological framework provided by Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey (1999).

> Needs assessment: answers questions about the social conditions a program is intended to address and the need for the program.
>
> Assessment of program theory: answers questions about program conceptualisation and design.
>
> Assessment of program process: answers questions about program operations, implementation, and service delivery.
>
> Outcome assessment: answers questions about program outcomes and impact.

> Efficiency assessment: answers questions about program cost and cost-effectiveness.
>
> (Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey, 1999, p. 63)

This methodological framework represents the range of focus activities within an intervention programme. Depending of the specific purposes of the evaluation, the context of the programme, and the needs of programme planners and implementers, an evaluator will make a choice for the type of evaluation to employ. A simple experimental design – the black box design – runs the risk of focusing only on one aspect of this framework, that is, outcome assessment. The results of such a design provide answers to questions related to outcomes but are unable to shed much light on the reasons for the results, be they positive or negative.

A theory-based approach on the other hand, has the potential to address all aspects of the methodological focus range outlined by Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey. The following section provides the motivation for adopting this approach and discusses theory-based evaluation in the context of its historical development, the stated benefits, identified barriers to its use and current critique of the approach.

Why theory-based evaluation?

The programme investigated for the purposes of this study, the Centre for Community Development's (CCD) 'Community Empowerment Programme', was not an established programme with a long history. It was a relatively new programme, conceptualised during 1996 and implemented as from 1997. The initial implementation of this programme occurred in a policy-shifting environment and later in a new and unfamiliar policy environment. Although the programme implementers were concerned with the outcomes and even impact of the programme, they were more interested in finding out why certain components of the intervention worked or did not work.

Specifying the theory behind the programme can provide assistance for planners and "we can identify the intermediate results of a program rather than just the bottom line" (Posovac and Carey, 1997, p. 56). Chen (1990) states that "program theory clarifies connections between a program's operations and its effects, and this helps the evaluator to find either positive or negative effects that otherwise might not be anticipated" (p. 26). It is believed that this kind of theory-based approach would illuminate aspects of the programme implementation and effects that need attention and it would provide guidance to additional and crucial instruments necessary to gather data. Weiss (1998) suggests that "the search for better program theory is well worth the pursuit. Given the sorry state of social intervention in some fields and the lack of theorizing to guide program development, even a modest advance would mark significant improvement" (p. 70).

Theory-based evaluation, its history and development

Weiss (1997b) traces the development of theory-based evaluation, also referred to as 'theory-driven' evaluation, back to Edward Suchman who, in his 1967 book, discussed two kinds of reasons for programme failure, that is, "failure of the program to put intended activities into operation (implementation failure) and failure of the activities to bring about the desired affects (theory failure)" (p. 41). Chen and Rossi (1983) argued that the lack of attention to programme theory in evaluation research often produced narrow and sometimes 'distorted' understandings of interventions. They charged that those involved in controlled experiments were 'seduced' by the non-necessity of having to understand how an intervention worked and were satisfied to estimate its effects through random experiments. The only requirement being that the goals and objectives of the programme be specified in reasonably measurable terms. Chen and Rossi were not arguing against randomised experiments or quasi-experiments. Instead, they were convinced that "theory-driven randomized and quasi-experiments both are superior to their 'black box' counterparts in power and efficiency" (p. 293). The 'black box' approach to evaluations referred to the practice of regarding everything that happens between random assignment and measurement of outputs to be the treatment. They are called 'black box' evaluations because they

examine the output of a programme without examining its internal operations (Posovac and Carey, 1997). Chen (1990) contends that:

> A black box evaluation is usually not sensitive to the political and organizational contexts of input and output, and it neglects issues such as the relationship between the delivered treatment and the planned treatment, between official goals and operative goals, or between intended and unintended outcomes (p. 18).

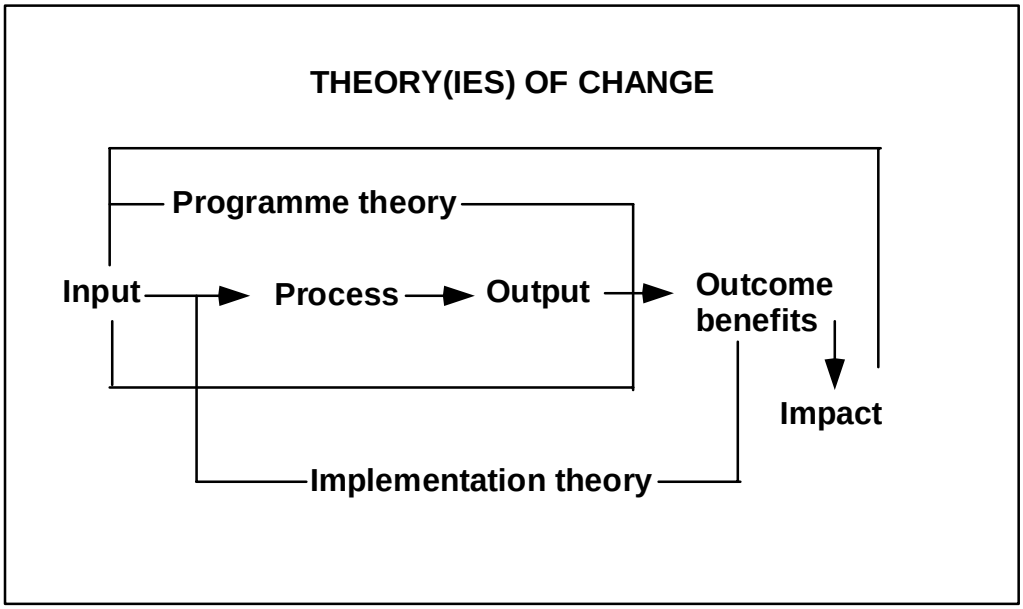
Chen and Rossi (1989) state elsewhere that "it is one of the strengths of the theory-oriented approach that it attempts to distinguish clearly among the various components of the total treatment, distinguishing especially between program and delivery system" (p. 301).

The distinction between the programme theory component and the delivery system is continued by Lipsey and Pollard (1989) who indicate that a theory driven approach is essential to an evaluation if the researcher wants to be able to distinguish between the validity of the programme implementation and the validity of the programme theory. As an example they state that "a program may disappoint because a flawed theory was implemented or because a good theory was poorly implemented" (p. 317). For Sheirer (1987) the programme theory provides the cause-and-effect relationships that inform the rationale for the treatment. She states further that:

> Program theory should be used by evaluators to guide the development of measuring instruments to assess what program was delivered. Implementation theory, in contrast, discusses variables governing the delivery mechanism itself. It helps illuminate why a program is or is not being delivered accurately ... Thus both types of theory have implications for evaluators' roles, since both suggest types of data that can clarify program operations (p .60).

The combination of programme theory and implementation theory of a particular programme would be called the programme's theories of change (Weiss, 1997b).

Figure 2. 1 Theory of change model

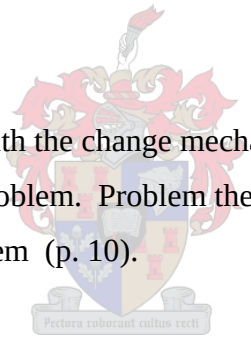


Unlike Weiss' economic description of a programme, Chen and Rossi (1989) provide a much more expanded and detailed analysis of a programme's components. They identified six major evaluation 'domains' with which the researcher and stakeholders can construct and formulate a framework for an evaluation:

- Treatment domain: This domain concerns issues of the formulation of treatment components and strength.
- Implementation environment domain: This domain concerns issues on monitoring and managing the environment under which the programme is implemented.
- Outcome domain: This domain concerns the issue of intended and unintended outcomes that are relevant to stakeholders' concerns.
- Impact domain: This domain concerns of issues of non-spuriousness.
- Intervening mechanism domain: This domain concerns the diagnosis of how and why the treatment generates the observed program consequences.
- Generalization domain: This domain concerns issues of how to take stakeholders' expectations into consideration and plan the evaluation accordingly (p. 305).

According to Chen and Rossi, each domain has its own theory, which guides the issues under consideration, and a systematic combination of all the domain theories becomes the super-ordinate theory for a particular programme. Only a comprehensive theory-driven evaluation would include all the domains. They, Chen and Rossi, argue that the theory-driven perspective demand that the evaluator and stakeholders must discuss which domains should be included and what theories should be formulated. Lipsey (1993) substituted the term 'programme' with 'treatment' in his explication of theory-oriented treatment research. Treatment theory for Lipsey is, like program theory, "a set of propositions regarding what goes on in the black box of input and output" (p. 11). Lipsey (1993) cites Chen and Rossi, 1980 who provided a useful distinction between two types of theory. They posited firstly a theory that represents remedial processes, such as treatments or programmes and secondly a theory that models processes that produce problems needing treatment, such as personal and social dysfunctions. Lipsey (1993) insists that it should be quite clear that these are not the same.

> Treatment theory deals with the change mechanism through which treatment can have effects on the problem. Problem theory deals with the natural or social causes of the problem (p. 10).



Problem theory as used above is what Chen (1990) calls 'descriptive theory'. Its purpose is to describe and explain a phenomenon. This, Chen continues, is a popular use of the term 'theory' and it concerns what *is* and has no implication for what *ought* to be done in problem situations. For Chen, this is a limited use of the term and it is not the same as is used in programme theory, namely "a set of interrelated assumptions, principles, and/or propositions to guide social actions" (p. 40). Chen (1990) refers to this type of theory as 'prescriptive theory' which prescribes what ought to be done or how to improve on previous actions. Prescriptive theory, according to Chen involves value judgements since it prescribes how people should behave in ideal circumstances.

The multiple interpretations of the term 'theory' presented above can become very confusing. It is precisely this confusion that leads certain individuals to criticise theory-

based evaluation and its supposed intention to accomplish the impossible. The impossible being, able to, through the development of theories, describe, explain, predict and provide guidelines for an evaluation. Scriven (1998) describes this as magic, not evaluation.

This present study sides more with Fitz-Gibbon and Morris (1996) who do not dwell on the different types of theories that are possible, for them, theory-based evaluation "means an evaluation based on a model, theory or philosophy about how the program works; a model, theory or philosophy which indicated the causal relationships supposedly operating in the program" (p. 178).

Others, like Weiss (1998) agree that the term 'theory' is used differently when discussing programme theory for evaluation purposes. Weiss refers to it, theory, as a set of beliefs and assumptions that underlie action while Bickman (1987) talks about a sensible and credible model of how a programme ought to work. Patton (1997) on the other hand supports a theory of action which specifies how to produce desired results and he contrasts this with theories in general which explain why some phenomenon of interest occurs. Weiss (1998) also believes that the theory, as used in theory-based evaluation is "an explanation of the causal links that tie program inputs to expected program outputs" (p. 55). Weiss emphasises that the theory does not have to be correct or be restricted to only one theory, there can be multiple theories in operation in any given programme.The theory of change - a combination of the programme and implementation theories - is for Weiss (1997b) a theory of how and why an intervention works. Connell and Kubisch (1999) have added to this definition of a 'theory of change' and define it as "a systematic and cumulative study of the links between activities, outcomes, and contexts of the initiative" (p. 43). Lipsey (1997) believes that the pursuit of theory of change in individual programme evaluation can lead to the development of intervention theory through meta-analysis of a range of theory-driven evaluations.

This discussion, of the nature of 'theory' in the programme theory context, is of particular interest for the present study. As the above indicate there is no one operational definition for 'theory' as used by the individuals cited. Chen's outline of

various domains within a programme proved to be useful to the extent that it delineates more clearly the elements of a programme. There is no agreement however that each domain has it own theory. For the purposes of this study, and for arguing for one possible way of implementing a theory-based approach to evaluation, Weiss' (1998) dual presentation of a programme, that is programme theory and implementation theory, and Chen's domains presentation are used together. However, these domains are treated in this study as elements or categories of the broader programme theory and not each with its own theory as professed by Chen. Five of these domains, namely the intervention domain, implementation environment domain, outcome domain, impact domain and the generalisation domain were used as categories of the evaluation. The elements in the intervening mechanisms domain, as used by Chen, were subsumed into the outcome domain category in this study. The primary reason for choosing Chen's 'domain categorisation', is its usefulness in terms of recognising different aspects of an intervention programme. The understanding of an intervention programme here is that it is more than just input and output. Also, Chen and Lipsey's use of the term 'treatment' as in treatment domain, when they refer to interventions. Most of their examples stem from programmes directed at decreasing drug and substance abuse and similar programmes aimed at changing individual behaviour patterns. For the present study, the term 'intervention' was preferred to 'treatment'. It was also assumed that the term 'treatment' could have a condescending connotation in a community development context.

Besides the various interpretations of the term 'theory' as discussed above when people refer to programme theory, some authors, including Greene (2001) remind us of the role evaluation can play in utilising substantive theory. Substantive theory is understood as being an existing theoretical construction that explains particular behaviour. Greene (2001) says that, "with a middle-ground view of theory as contextualized understanding of meaningful human interaction, I believe that there is an important and valuable role for substantive theory in evaluation" (p. 398). Greene further believes that evaluation should be more than proclaiming goodness or badness and that it should offer conceptual and theoretical insights relevant to a particular context. The issue of substantive theory use in evaluation has bearing on the source of the programme theory for an evaluation. Weiss (1997) identifies four sources of

information that can be used to construct programme theories: organisational and project documents, people implementing and those affected by the programme, prior research and models use by other but related programmes, and logical reasoning. Prior research can provide examples of substantive theories that can, if required and desired, tested within a theory-based evaluation. As a way of summarising the above discussion, the following table, representing the different interpretations of the term 'theory' is presented.

Table 2.4 Interpretations of the term 'theory'

Terms	**Definitions**	**Author(s)**
Programme theory	Provides cause-and-effect relationships that inform the rationale for the treatment.	Sheirer (1987)
	A sensible model of how a programme is supposed to work.	Brickman (1987)
	The set of belies that underlie action.	Weiss (1998)
Implementation theory	Variables governing the delivery.	Sheirer (1987)
Treatment theory	Deals with the change mechanism through which treatment can have effects on the problem.	Lipsey (1993)
Problem theory	Deals with the natural or social causes of the problem.	Lipsey (1993)
Theory of change	Combination of programme theory and implementation theory.	Weiss (1998)
Substantive theory	An existing theoretical construction that explains particular behaviour.	Greene (2001)

The understanding and use of the term 'theory' for this study, taken from the discussion outlined above, is that the programme theory is a set of related assumptions and propositions that guide the action in the programme. The programme theory serves

a particular function within an evaluation. The next section deals with the various functions outlined by a number of authors.

Functions of programme theory

Bickman (1987) in his article, *The Functions of Program Theory,* outlined several functions of the programme theory. Bickman called these functions 'benefits' that could be gained from an evaluation that has a clear programme theory.

1. Contributing to Social Science Knowledge. The development of a sound programme theory can lead to programme evaluation contributing to social science theory "if the program (independent variable) and measures of programme process and outcome (dependent variables) are theoretically meaningful. These variables are theoretically meaningful if they are high in construct validity" (Bickman, 1987, p. 7). Programme theory can also contribute to the cumulation of theoretical knowledge (Chen and Rossi, 1987**;** Lipsey, 1997; Weiss, 1998a). For example, there are a number of intervention programmes dealing with changing or affecting the behaviour of 'problematic' adolescents, but in different geographical, social and cultural contexts. Each programme utilizes a programme theory that incorporates aspects of possibly, 'problem behaviour theory', which states that "a problem behaviour is any behaviour that departs from the norms – both social and legal – of the larger society and is socially disapproved of by the institutions authority" (Morojele, 1997, p. 219). This theory can be bolstered through a study of evaluation studies of individual programmes, this cumulative study can better serve social science if the individual evaluation studies are of a theory-based nature.

2. Assisting Policymakers. Programme theory and the recommendations that would emanate from such an evaluation have the possibility of influencing the nature of future policy (Weiss, 1998a). Programme theory goes beyond the limitations of surface statistical findings and provides explanations for the inter-connections among and between variables. Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey (1999) provide the example of the provision of food stamps by and American State. When the administrative costs of supplying and processing food stamps became too high, the State opted to present the

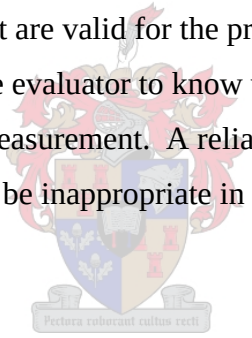
indigent families with cash instead. The subsequent evaluation results revealed that people bought less food with the cash, than was the case with the food stamps. The programme intent suffered because of the implementation.

3. Discriminating between programme failure and theory failure. An evaluation incorporating a strong programme theory will be able to describe the relationship between programme failure and theory failure (Lipsey, 1987, Weiss, 1998a). Failure to discover programme effects can therefore be due to either the incorrect theory or the correct theory being poorly implemented. Bickman (1987) however warns that another cause of failure can be due to poor evaluation design. He maintains that "in planning an evaluation the evaluator must be able to defend the design, measurement, and statistical analysis so that if a no-effect finding is obtained, the basis for this finding is not considered the evaluator's fault" (p. 10). The new school curriculum in South Africa, curriculum 2005, grounded in an outcomes based philosophy, appears to be theoretically sound. However most recent studies have revealed difficulties at school level and also confusion at department level. The curriculum has been found by government appointed reviewers, to be unnecessarily complex, complicated and unbalanced. Several recommendations were made and all teachers are to be 're-trained' in the revised curriculum. Targeted theory-based evaluations will be able to expose, in greater detail, which elements or aspects of the programme are failing. In the case of the new school curriculum, the complex nature of social change can also be highlighted.

4. Assistance for programme planners and people responsible for obtaining funding. One advantage of thinking theoretically is to come to a decision to focus limited programme resources on a specific issue rather than dilute the resources by attempting too much (Posovac and Carey, 1997). Theoretical descriptions of the effects and assumptions of a programme can assist programme planners with the development of corrective actions needed during a formative evaluation process. Weiss (1997a) believes that "the results from past theory-based evaluations should help program designers make wiser decisions about the development of a new program" (p. 517). Developing a programme theory early on in the programme encourages the designer to make his or her assumptions explicit.

5. Specifying intervening variables. The programme theory can provide causal links between the implementation of the programme and its outcomes. Intervening variables, or bridging variables link the inputs of the programme to its ultimate goals. Programme theory can help with the identification of intermediate results of a programme rather than just the ultimate outcomes. Posovac and Carey (1997) believe that "recognizing the processes that people have to follow to make changes in their lives can prompt planners to develop more effective programs" (p. 57). For example, some intervention programmes may target groups to address economic hardships, through getting other more successful groups of people to assist them. It may be that issues of 'power relationships' or 'prejudice' can become important variables in the success or failure of the interventions.

6. Clarifying measurement issues. "The theoretical perspective allows the evaluator to develop and choose measures that are valid for the program" (Bickman, 1987, p. 13). The programme theory assists the evaluator to know where to look in conducting an evaluation and use appropriate measurement. A reliable instrument, that produces valid measures consistently, may be inappropriate in terms of a particular programme and what it hopes to achieve.



7. Uncovering unintended effects. Theory construction can lead to the discovery of positive and/or negative effects not anticipated by programme planners and implementers. According to Bickman (1987), "the underlying theory allows the evaluator to depart from political objectives and instead focus on objectives that can be inferred from the operation of the theory" (p. 12). Very often the underlying theory of the implemented programme is not the official programme theory stated in official organisational documents. Instead of looking only at results linked to the official objectives, the evaluation can unearth unintended effects.

8. Improving consensus formation. Stakeholder perceptions, in particular that of programme staff , influence programme implementation. The implicit theory of these stakeholders should influence the design of the evaluation. Wholey (1987) insists that "meetings with managers and policy makers ensure that there is a common

understanding of program theory before further evaluation work is undertaken" (p. 91). Wholey (1994) promotes evaluability assessment as the vehicle for constructing an evaluation design based on an inclusively generated theory. This will ensure that the design is relevant, feasible, timely, and useful to policy makers or programme planners.

Rogers et al (2000) believe that programme theory evaluation can set the agendas for subsequent programmes and evaluations. They maintain that through "creating a model of microsteps or linkages in the causal path from program to ultimate outcome – and empirically testing it – PTE provides more about why a program failed or succeeded" (p. 10). They add that although causal attribution is sometimes a promise made by programme theory evaluation, the fact is that many current programme theory evaluations do not address attribution at all, they simply report on the implementation and outcomes of programmes. They also warn that programme theory development, for the purposes of evaluation can be an enriching experience for the evaluator as well as programme staff, however;

> If program theory is used to develop accountability systems, there is a real risk of *goal displacement*, wherein staff seek to achieve targets of stated objectives at the cost of achieving the ultimate goal or sustainability of the program. (p. 12)

Programme theory evaluation can also assist with meta-analysis of a number of programmes, according to Petrosino (2000). He feels that the one-step evaluation model that tests only for the intervention's effects on outcomes measures does not address the causal complexity involved in many programmes. As an example he cites the results of evaluation studies of treatment programmes for juvenile offenders and their effects on offender recidivism. The studies were grouped under broad labels that captured the essence of the interventions, for example, cognitive, behavioural, individualised and group counselling. Instead of using these broad labels, which mask useful information about the programmes, Petrosino promotes a two-step model that involves the measurement of at least one mechanism for change and one outcome. Some of the mechanisms for the broad cognitive label would be, 'skills in victim

apathy', 'skills in high risk situations', reduction in rationalisation', and 'increase in empathy for victims'. Petrosino believes that such findings would be very useful in providing guidance for decision making.

The kinds of decision making referred to above can include whether to replicate a successful programme or not. Hasci (2000) posits that randomised experimental evaluations are the best ways to prove if the programmes have been successful or not. But they cannot show what led to the successful outcomes. He also states that complete replication is not feasible because of the changes in locality, staff and clientele and he suggests that programme theory evaluation can provide guidance concerning how a programme would need to be changed to function in a new and different environment. However, Hacsi agrees with Cook (2000) that programme theory evaluation should be used within randomised experiments, albeit with different purposes in mind:

> In specific areas, such as programs to prevent teen pregnancies or adolescent drug use, a handful of randomized PTEs might provide more useful knowledge about what works, how it works, why it works, and for whom it works….It will allow us to benefit more from the best programs that are developed instead of reinventing the wheel on a daily basis, or replicating ineffective programs, or misunderstanding why a program was effective in the first place. (p. 77)

A further benefit of theory-based evaluation is identified by Huebner (2000), who presents the findings of a small study of four theory-based evaluations conducted in school settings. Through this approach the evaluations produced unprecedented cooperation among the school staff. It also helped clarify programme goals and in the process pulled the staff members together. Huebner believes that the cooperation and buy-in attained in the evaluation process helps develop the evaluation and more importantly, it encourages reflective practice.

Weiss (1998) encourages the search for better programme theory and feels that the black box type of evaluation, that is, the assessment of outcomes without an understanding of what is causing those outcomes is not the way to go. She believes that:

> With all their complexities and quirks, programs display discernable commonalities. Just as the basic social sciences find patterns of behavior that hold across individuals, organizations, polities, and societies, it should be possible to find features and relationships that characterize programs of various kinds. Human behavior is complex, but it is not random. We ought to be able to make headway in understanding what happens under particular circumstances when interventions work to redress social problems. (Weiss, 1998, p. 70)

Weiss admits that the above will not be an easy task, given the present low level of development of programme theory in many fields. There are a number of barriers to the use of programme theory that still need to be overcomes. Some of these barriers are discussed in the next section.

Limitations and barriers to the use of programme theory

The limitations and barriers referred to below are those recognised and provided by proponents, that is, users of the programme theory evaluation approach. Theorists like Weiss, Bickman, Chen, Rossi and Lipsey have not only looked at the possibilities and benefits of the use of programme theory, they have also noticed and confronted the limitations and barriers to this practice. Weiss (1997a) points to a number of 'problems' encountered even among those who attempt to put into practice theory-based evaluations. The first problem she identifies is that the programme theory is often unclear. She blames this on the literature promoting theory-based evaluation which "has been at a stratospheric level of abstraction" (p. 502). Weiss believes that the theory involved should be much less abstract, more specific, selective and directed at the causal component of explanation that the programme is attempting to address. Weiss is convinced that by identifying and articulating the assumptions embedded in programmes, which are according to her designed on the basis of experience, practice knowledge, and intuition, these conceptual foundations will provide the building blocks of a sound theory. Rogers (1998) warns that it is unrealistic to attempt to identify all the intermediate outcomes that are necessary and sufficient to produce the ultimate outcomes. This, to her, is an unachievable objective. She proposes the

development of a model that is useful because the programme theory as articulated remains a simplification of how the programme works and she supports the saying that "the map is not the territory" (p.1). Rogers further suggests the incorporation of the following features into the programme causal model that can expand and inform inadequate explanations.

- competing but essential mechanisms
- the effects of factors outside the program
- non-linear causality - virtuous and vicious circles
- feedback delays
- symptomatic solutions
- the influence of programme clients (p. 4).

An elaboration of these features will follow in the next chapter on research methodology.

Another problem Weiss (1997a) identified in the pursuit of programme theory development is that the 'articulated theory is not the only possible theory.' She believes that it is possible to produce an incorrect theory, meaning that the impact can be produced by mechanisms other than those articulated in the programme theory. This, for Weiss, does not mean that one should not pursue theory-based evaluation, on the contrary, she states that "if evaluation can demonstrate that the theoretical underpinnings of a program are suspect, then designers and managers have a basis to do more than tinker with the ingredients: they can tentatively question a whole class of programs based on similar theories and seek a different conceptual approach to accomplishing desired ends" (p. 507). Another possible solution she provides is to postulate and study several theories, that is, several alternative plausible logic models that can provide the reasoning from input to outcomes.

The fact that many programmes lack explicit theory leads to the problem of identifying and constructing programme theories. Weiss provides four basic sources of information about programme theories, being; organisation documents, staff or people involved, prior research, and logical reasoning. All these sources have limitations.

Programme or organisational documents do not always provide enough information about the theory of change embedded in the programme. The staff involved in the programme may espouse a theory which is not necessarily the one in use. Evaluators can also refer to social science knowledge and theory but because "much of the theory in the social sciences is at a high level of abstraction, phrased in terms of global relationships ... it is rarely going to be sufficient for constructing the kinds of theories envisioned here" (Weiss, 1997a, p. 509). Logical reasoning forms part of the entire evaluation process, according to Weiss, but it can also be used in the form proposed by Wholey (1987) - an evaluability assessment - where through observation of actions of practitioners and participants, the evaluators can check if there is a plausible relationship among goals, activities, and expected outcomes. As a solution to the problem of identifying and constructing a programme theory, Weiss advocates a combination of the procedures discussed above.

Bickman (1989) puts forward the cost factor of theory-based evaluation as a barrier to its general use in evaluations. He maintains that theory-based evaluations are by their nature comprehensive and the amount of time needed to construct the programme theory, through various strategies mentioned earlier, even at the planning stages of the evaluation can be prohibitive. Measurement development, extensive data collection procedures, data storage and analysis as well as report writing are all part of evaluations, but Bickman claims that each stage within a theory-based evaluation, is costlier in terms of time and effort needed.

Another barrier or limitation to the proliferation of theory-based evaluation cited by Bickman (1989), is the lack of technical know-how by evaluators. Evaluators need to be able to develop theories and according to Bickman, present guidelines, provided by, among others, Lipsey and Pollard (1989), Chen (1990), need to be further explicated and presented in formats that are more useful to evaluators. Bickman (1989) also suggests that "theory development requires more than a passing familiarity with the problem area content" (p. 388). This highlights a crucial and longstanding debate about whether evaluators should be subject experts or generalists. He believes that a generalist evaluator would have the required skills to tackle an input-output evaluation, but the development of a programme theory may require some expertise in the subject

matter. Bickman advocates education and training as a means of overcoming these barriers.

Criticism of theory-based evaluation

Michael Scriven (1998) who, at the time of writing was the president of the American Evaluation Association, who produced the 'Evaluation Thesaurus' (1991), and who was also responsible for coining the concept 'Goal-free Evaluation' (1980), criticised theory-based evaluation proponents for misusing the word 'theory' and cautioned against the notion of 'programme theory' as defined by Chen (1990) in particular. The debate between Huey Chen and Michael Scriven started in 1993 when at the AEA Annual Meeting Scriven argued that the major purpose of evaluation is to "establish the merits, worth, quality, or values of a program. To do this we do not need to know how programs work or why they fail to work. To this, Chen claimed that Scriven's arguments were flawed because it is inappropriate to judge the worthiness or value of social programs exclusively by goal attainment or outward merits, and program improvements are essential parts of evaluations" (Donaldson, 1998, p. 2). Since 1993 the debate between Scriven and Chen has continued at the AEA annual meetings and resulted in publications in the journal *Evaluation Practice*.

In his plenary address at the 1997 AEA meeting in San Diego, Scriven again attacked theory-driven evaluation. In his address, ' Minimalist Theory: The Least Theory that Practice Requires' Scriven (1998) states, "theories are sets of propositions which jointly provide explanations and integration, so a list of components, even if supplemented by an account of how they fit together, is not a theory of operation, because it provides no explanation of the fit, or of the unifying logic of operation" (p. 60). Scriven uses the example of an electronic alarm clock with components like the battery, a chip, some wires and a gear train driving the hands with input from both the chip and the winding stem, to illustrate the non-necessity of knowledge about electronics (subject matter) nor the need for theories or theoreticians in order to fix things and explain their failure. Another example he provides is that of aspirin, "one may have no theory of how it works to produce its effects, but nevertheless be able to predict it effects and even it side-effects - because we found out what they were from

direct experimentation. That does not require a theory" (p. 60). Scriven further differentiates between two types of theories, namely internal theories, which explain how an entity manages to produce it outputs; and external theories, which explain how outputs produce the effects they are used to produce. According to Scriven, Chen's definition of 'program theory' attempts to do both the tasks of internal and external theories. This, says Scriven, is an impossible task and not the role of an evaluator. The following quotation summarises his critique of theory-based evaluation:

> The primary task of the evaluator is to determine how well the car runs, and for that you do not need the auto mechanics. Moreover, even without that theory you can give good explanations of why it failed to run, a secondary but frequently useful task. Deep explanations, on the other hand, are the business of subject-matter experts, not evaluators; ... But even deep theories will not predict side-effects; ... That is too much to ask of a theory of any kind, even an extended theory, such as a Chen theory. That is magic (p. 61).

William Trochim (1998) was the discussant at the plenary where Scriven presented his 'Minimalist Theory' paper and he subsequently published his response to Scriven as an 'Evaluation of Michael Scriven's Minimalist Theory: ...'. Trochim's reading of Scriven's conceptualisation of internal and external theories is that it is a re-invention of construct validity and internal validity, with Scriven's external theory being the 'old internal' and his 'internal' being the old construct validity. He charges Scriven of taking "an instrumentalist approach that is wholly consistent with the black box experimentalist view of research - it doesn't matter how the program works, only that we determine whether it does" (p. 244). Trochim admits that there is a place for instrumentalism, something that works may have instrumental value, regardless of the theoretical reasons for why it works. But, he claims that the reason for the rise in theory-driven evaluation is the lack of social programmes that work and it would assist such programmes if evaluators attempt to find out why a programme may be working or not. Trochim believes that the theory-based approach can extend and strengthen the experimental black box type evaluation:

> There seems to me to be nothing contradictory between these approaches - the experimental one and the more theory-driven pattern matching one. We need to find better ways to incorporate them side-by-side in our evaluation studies (p. 245).

William Trochim does not regard himself as 'an apologist' for theory-based evaluation in its current form. He has a problem with the emphasis and the role of academic, social science theory. He is of the view that the people who invented the programme, who implemented the programme and those who received it, are in the best position to inform about the theory of the programme.

Chen (1994) responded to Scriven's critique with two points, namely:

- it is inappropriate to judge the worthiness or value of social programme exclusively by goal attainment or outward merit; and
- program improvements are essential parts of evaluations (p. 79)

He pointed out that social programmes were not the same as the material products Scriven used as examples:

> As a social system, a social program is characterized by equifinality, that is, a same program goal can be achieved by different means or channels: some of them may have high social approval: some, low approval; some may even be rejected.

Chen uses the example of an education programme that can use force or punishment to obtain its objectives, and this would most certainly not be accepted by parents. Social programmes also have unintended consequences and by judging programmes only on their outcomes alone while ignoring the unintended outcomes would be foolhardy according to Chen. This he feels is even true for product evaluation where a good product, based on the attainment goals, but pollutes the environment as an unintended outcome.

Jennifer Greene (1993) criticises theory-based evaluation from a perspective of qualitative approaches to evaluation. She accuses the proponents of theory-based evaluation (Bickman, 1987; Chen, 1989; Chen & Rossi, 1983, 1987) whom she identifies as being historically aligned to the systems/experimental approach to evaluation, of "endeavouring to reclaim their heritage as scientists whose main job is to develop formal, propositional theory" (p. 26). She maintains that;

> qualitative evaluation is rooted in evaluation's responsive tradition and grounded in an interpretivist philosophical inquiry framework. In both these domains - evaluation's role and philosophical base - there are fundamental incompatibilities between qualitative and theory-driven evaluation (p. 31).

Greene (1993) also recognises a split within the evaluation community in terms of the role evaluation should play. She suggests that there are those who advocate a macro, policy- and theory relevant role for evaluation and others who believe that evaluation should be more locally responsive, utilisation-oriented, and or programme-relevant. McCoy and Hargie (2001) concur with the existence of researchers who believe that evaluation should be restricted to "retrospective analysis of programme effects" (p. 319), and those who prefer evaluation to play a role in the design, implementation and ongoing monitoring of the programme. Qualitative evaluators, according to Greene (1993), would side with the latter response, while theory-based evaluators would choose the former. She rejects the theory-based approach, of the a priori adoption of a conceptual framework that prescribes the substantive direction of an evaluation, as antithetical to qualitative evaluation. Local programme theory, for the qualitative evaluator, would emerge as a contextually grounded construct during the evaluator's engagement with those who experience the programme. Programme theory in qualitative evaluation, according to Greene (1993), "represents not formal propositions about interrelationships among program facets, but rather context specific, multiplistic understanding of the meaning of a given program experience, in which the various facets of a program theory are joined holistically" (p. 32). Despite rejecting the formal, propositional explanations of social phenomena, Greene ends up urging qualitative evaluators to be more attentive to theory through 1) explicating from the outset the evaluator's own theoretical assumptions, 2) describing the local theories as part of the

context, 3) attending to theory relevant issues as an explicit, albeit emergent focus of the evaluation, and 4) integrating the programme theory into evaluation conclusions and recommendations. Greene does not believe that this constitutes a departure from existing qualitative practice, she asserts that, "qualitative evaluators are challenged to make interpretivist forms of social theory heard by proactively incorporating theory-related issues in their work" (p. 41).

From the experimental evaluation perspective, Cook (2000), provides several reasons for his scepticism about theory-based evaluations' ability to provide valid conclusions about a programmes causal effects. His first reason has to do with multiple theories that can be constructed for any given programme, this for him is a large problem for a theory of theory-based evaluation. His second reason relates to the very linear portrayal of the flow of influence. He states that:

> They rarely incorporate reciprocal feedback loops or external contingencies that might moderate the entire flow of influence. Yet we know from bitter experience that how individuals have been affected by a program affects their subsequent exposure to the program, sometimes because they come to need it less and sometimes because they come to need it more. (p. 29)

His third concern with the theory-based approach to evaluation is that few programme theories specify how long it will take for a given process to affect a particular indicator in the causal chain. He admits that this is difficult to achieve but without such specification it would be difficult to talk about programme failure or theory failure. Another concern for Cook, and perhaps the biggest problem, is the absence of a valid counterfactual, no way of knowing what would have happened in the programme context had there not been the programme. However, Cook goes on to say that it is not easy to do experiments with intact communities and whole schools and that he had yet to meet a perfect community- or even school-based experimental evaluation. Cook argues for the use of substantive theory to detail intervening processes and he wants to see theory-based methods used within an experimental framework.

The above critiques of theory-based evaluation represent a not inconsiderable amount of scepticism about an emerging approach to programme evaluation. However, if one looks carefully at these criticisms, one does not find complete rejection of the approach. Scriven's main concern is with Chen's articulation of theory. Although Scriven still has concerns about certain interpretations of programme theory, theory-based evaluation forms part of the training courses in evaluation currently being offered by Scriven at the Department of Psychology at Claremont Graduate University. Greene, arguing from a qualitative methodology perspective, accuses proponents of theory-based evaluation of not attending to 'local theories' and using 'substantive theory' to determine the shape and form of the evaluation. This is clearly not true, and the social science theory is but one of the sources of theory for theory-based evaluation. She also encourages those involved with qualitative evaluation to feature theory in their work so as to enhance contextual understanding.

Lastly Cook highlights a number of concerns about theory-based evaluation. These concerns are valid and they are valid about other approaches as well. Specifying the time it will take for a programme to trigger an outcome is a challenge for the social sciences, not just theory-based evaluation. Cook however, recognises the value of this approach and proposes its use within an experimental design. The analysis of the criticisms above does not reveal unqualified support for theory-based evaluation but it also does not represent outright rejection of the approach, be it at a conceptual level or practical implementation level.

Summary

In this chapter, programme evaluation, as a field of study, was first described in terms of its operational environment. It was established that programme evaluation focuses exclusively on social intervention programmes that are designed to improve the human condition. Programme evaluation was also framed within a social research structure, based on an underlying commitment to the methodological rules of social research. This was followed by a brief outline of the history of programme evaluation on the international front. It was noted that programme evaluation, as a distinct field of professional practice was started because of historical socio-economic conditions. It,

programme evaluation, received a major boost during the 'war on poverty', an intervention policy aimed at alleviating poverty, declared by the then US president during the 1960s. The proliferation of intervention programmes resulted in the applications of equally large-scale evaluations. Another phenomenon that emerged, as outlined above, was the establishment of professional associations for evaluators. The comparatively slow development and utilisation of programme evaluation in South Africa was also shared. The resultant paucity in documented studies of programme evaluation was highlighted and recent developments in this field in South Africa were outlined.

The definitions for programme evaluation provided by Rossi and Freeman (1993) and Patton (1997) were used to inform the reader of the understanding of the term in this study. These definitions, also served as a starting point to introduce various strands of programme evaluation that had developed primarily because of the methods-debate within the 'paradigm wars'. Four methodological approaches to programme evaluation namely, experimentalists, eclectics, describers and benefit-cost analysers were presented. The categorisation by Potter and Kruger (2001) was deemed limited and confusing, but shared because their texts, explaining their understanding of programme evaluation are currently widely used in South Africa. A brief treatise of the most popular conceptual framework for the functions of evaluation namely, summative and formative, was then presented. This was followed by Chen's (1996) challenge to this basic dichotomy in favour of his own expanded framework. The wide range of purposes of evaluation that included enlightenment, accountability, clarification, development and even symbolic were discussed. These purposes and other purposes for evaluation informed the various types of programme evaluations that have emerged such as evaluation of needs, of process, of outcome and of efficiency.

The above discussion served as a backdrop for the introduction of the specific approach adopted in this study namely, theory-based evaluation. The possibilities of identifying intermediate outcomes rather than just the bottom line and the potential for the illumination of aspects of the programme implementation and effects, through the explication of the programme theory were presented as reasons for using this particular approach to the evaluation. The history of theory-based evaluation was then presented

and various proponents of theory-based evaluation cited particularly for their advancement of this approach as an alternative to the 'black box' type of evaluation. The central advantage of the theory-based approach namely, allowing the evaluator to distinguish between programme failure and implementation failure, was highlighted. This was followed by various interpretations of the concept 'theory' and its use within evaluation research. The following functions of programme theory were outlined, contributing to social science knowledge; assisting policy makers; discriminating between programme failure and theory failure; assisting programme planners; specifying intervening variables; clarifying measurement issues; uncovering unintended effects; and improving consensus formation. A list of limitations and barriers to the use of programme theory were also provided.

The presentation of critiques of theory-based evaluation concluded this chapter. Scriven (1998) criticised theory-based evaluation proponents for misusing the word 'theory' and cautioned against the notion of 'programme theory' as defined by Chen (1990). Greene (1993) on the other accused proponents of theory-based evaluation of being apologists for the systems-experimental approach whose only interest was to reclaim their heritage as scientists in the interest of developing formal, prepositional theory. Responses to each of these critiques were offered at the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

META-THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS, METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS, AND DESIGN

Introduction

This study is a case study, not of the community development programme as implemented by the Centre for Community Development, but of the evaluation of the programme implementation. It is also not a case study methodology employed to evaluate a programme but a methodological vehicle employed to focus on a particular approach to programme evaluation. A brief but particular reading and interpretation of the case study literature and its applicability to this study were provided in chapter one.

This chapter concerns itself with the meta-theoretical placement of the study in the shape of an analysis of the epistemological and methodological considerations and choices made by the researcher. This analysis provides the paradigmatic landscape wherein this study is located. It addresses the second research question namely, *how do the debates in the philosophy of the social sciences support the theory-based approach?* There is an initial discussion on the meta-theoretical choices that researchers make, can make or are exposed to. This is followed by an explication of the ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations and choices for this study. A detailed design for the evaluation of a community development programme is then provided. The design is outlined in terms of linkages to specific research questions and the overall purpose of the study. It is presented within a 'domain' framework as conceptualised for the evaluation. Thereafter, and within the domains context, the choices and selection of research techniques are outlined and justified. Lastly the data analysis procedures employed in this study are explained.

Epistemological and methodological considerations

This study takes Weiss' (1998) position that programme evaluation applies the methods of social science research, both quantitative and qualitative. The principles and methods normally applied to all other types of research, must be applied in programme evaluation as well (Weiss, 1998; Clarke and Dawson, 1999). "What distinguishes evaluation research is not method or subject matter, but intent – the purpose for which it is done." (Weiss, 1998, p.15) As stated in a previous chapter, the purpose of the evaluation could be to assess if social programmes are needed, if they are effective and/or if they are likely to be used. The efficacy of the programmes will be assessed, given the above purposes, in human and social terms. The research principles and methods will come into play when the evaluator has to make decisions about the particular methodological approach for the overall evaluation. Potter (1999) believes that while the evaluator will consider a methodology that suits the particular context of the programme as well as the requirements of those commissioning the evaluation, the evaluator will also rely on a set of personal assumptions to determine the methodology. According to Potter (1999), "particular evaluation practices reflect different methodological, epistemological as well as ideological assumptions" (p. 211). Mouton (1996) describes it differently, as when researchers find themselves in a 'particular intellectual milieu', which involves the meta-theoretical assumptions held as valid within a discipline at a particular point in time. It is the intention here to take up this charge and to explore the intellectual milieu and through that, explicate the methodological, epistemological as well as ideological assumptions that support the choice of a theory-driven evaluation design.

These assumptions, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), Potter (1999) and Sarantakos (1998), are not merely in terms of methodology and methods, but related to a deeper worldview held by the researcher. The assumptions are the reflections of how the researcher sees the world and is referred to as a paradigm. A paradigm also provides a philosophical framework for the study of that world. As such, paradigms serve a positive function by guiding the process of inquiry and forming a basis for the practice of science (Kuhn 1970). However, the dominance of any particular paradigm can lead to the stifling of creativity and the suppression of new lines of inquiry, thus

having negative effects on the processes of inquiry. It is precisely the positive and negative possibilities that have led to the 'paradigm wars' since the early 1900s. The 'paradigm wars' refer to attempts by scholars, opposed to the dominant positivist paradigm, to articulate alternative 'paradigms' based on different ontological, epistemological and even methodological principles. Protagonists for an alternative paradigm within the social sciences, argued that the natural science was conceived in positivistic terms and studied the objective, inanimate and non-human world. The social sciences instead were, according to them, concerned with:

> Society, a product of the human mind, was subjective, emotive as well as intellectual… Human social behaviour was always imbued with values, and reliable knowledge of culture could only be gained by isolating the common ideas, the feelings, or goals of a particular historical society. It was these that made each social act subjectively meaningful. (Hughes, 1990, p. 90)

The 'battle' against the orthodoxy of positivism spawned alternative conceptions of searching for meaning such as "hermeneutics with its abiding question: how is an understanding of the past to be gained through its texts and other remains?" (Hughes, 1990, p. 90). The search for alternative conceptions of meaning resulted in various methodological approaches that argued against the narrow, positivist conception of meaning. Examples would include, among others, Marx's material conception of history (Mclellan, 1976), the Frankfurt School movement in search of critical theory (Bottomore, 1984), Habermas' arguments for new foundations of critical theory (Roderick, 1986), and the more phenomenological, constructivist and feminist arguments that followed later (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Hughes (1990) however, points to contemporary realists and empiricists such as Quine, Putnam and Hacking who present a revised conception of science and knowledge as a response to the critique of the positivist view of science.

> What was rejected was not science, or indeed its eminence as a form of knowledge, but a view of science requiring epistemological and ontological unity. What is emphasised is the diversity and the disunity of science… the

> theory-laden nature of observation is a feature of scientific work that natural scientists find unremarkable and obvious. (Hughes, 1990, p. 84)

There are clear signs that these wars are dissipating as more and more social scientists realise that it is more prudent for chosen methods to be determined by the nature of the research problem rather than by the methodological preferences of the researcher. Clarke and Dawson (1999) maintain that, " knowledge of the paradigmatic nature of decision-making will help make evaluators more aware of their methodological biases and paradigmatic assumptions so that they can make flexible, sophisticated, and adaptive methodological choices" (p. 38). The insight into the paradigms debate is essential, according to Clarke and Dawson, if evaluators are to avoid becoming slavishly attached to one particular paradigm. Babbie (1989) states that a paradigm is a scheme that organises our view of the world. The paradigm does not "answer important questions, it tells us where to look for the answers…where you look largely determines the answers you'll find" (p. 47).

Sarantakos (1998) also draws his definition of a paradigm from Kuhn which states that "a paradigm is a set of beliefs, values and techniques which is shared by members of a scientific community, and which acts as a guide or map, dictating the kinds of problems scientists should address, and the type of explanations that are acceptable to them" (p. 32). Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) refer to paradigms as "all-encompassing systems of interrelated practice and thinking that define the nature of enquiry" (p. 6). However, there is no complete agreement about the usage of the term. Historically, some used the term very widely, referring to all scientific groupings, while others used it more narrowly to identify only the major theoretical directions in the social sciences. As an example, Sarantakos states that the first group (the wider perspective of paradigm), referred to phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, Marxism, feminism, postmodernism hermeneutics, etc., as examples of paradigms. This is not the understanding of the term used in this study. The second group identified only two paradigms, namely positivism and post -positivism. The two paradigms had distinct features and were also referred to as the *positivist* and the *interpretive* paradigms. This dyadic interpretation of paradigm did not prevail for long and was expanded to include *critical theory* as a third paradigm, "and in this triadic

form it seems to have been accepted by most social scientists" (Sarankatos, p. 32). A description of these paradigms, taken from Sarankatos, is given below:

Table 3.1. Main paradigms in the social sciences

Positivistic	Interpretive	Critical
Positivism	Symbolic interactionism	Critical sociology
Neopositivism	Phenomenology	Conflict school of thought
Methodological	Ethnomethodology	Marxism
Positivism	Hermeneutics	Feminism
Logical Positivism	Psychoanalysis	
	Ethnology	
	Ethnography	
	Sociolinguistics	

Sarankatos, 1998, p. 33

Potter (1999) makes a similar distinction but refers to the third paradigm as *critical-emancipatory*. Of interest to this study is Potter's interpretation of the paradigms in terms of the kinds of evaluation research activities that would resort under each of these paradigms. According to Potter, the evaluation research activities resorting under the *positivist* banner would be limited to those aspects of social programmes that can be objectively observed and tested. He states further, erroneously one may add, that the activities are usually applied within a systematic framework and examples of such activities would include needs assessments, programme planning, formative evaluations and summative evaluations. The *interpretive* paradigm according to him accommodates approaches that are more responsive to the programmes. It involves outsider evaluators who are mandated by all stakeholders. The evaluator structures regular report-back sessions and involve stakeholders in the design and implementation of the evaluation. Under the *critical emancipatory* banner, Potter locates evaluation research practices where there is a shared value system between the evaluator and the programme. It is generally based on action research for the purpose of improvement and involvement. The evaluator plays a central role in capacity building of programme staff as well as advocacy for the programme. The participants, through their involvement in the process start learning to speak the language of power.

This outline by Potter is not very helpful in the present study. The examples used by him can be found and utilised across the so-called paradigms. He later states however that, "there is no single correct approach to programme evaluation, and evaluators typically choose an appropriate methodology to fit the pragmatic requirements of each programme, rather than being guided by one particular model or approach" (p. 211). This statement resonates with an earlier one by Clarke and Dawson about the dangers of slavish loyalty to one particular paradigm. What is clear from Potter's articulation of the paradigm-linked evaluation research activities is that the role of the evaluator will differ within each paradigm, the focus of the evaluation may differ and the involvement of the stakeholders will differ across the paradigms. The paradigmatic stance on each of the aforementioned issues is informed by a particular theoretical perspective of; (a) reality, (b) human beings, (c) the nature of science and (d) the purpose of science (Sarankatos, 1998).

Guba and Lincoln (1998) on the other hand argue that the basic beliefs that define inquiry can be summarised by the responses given by proponents of any given paradigm to three fundamental questions. They are; the ontological question – what is the form and nature of reality?; the epistemological question – what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?; and the methodological question – how can the inquirer go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known? They provide the following table to illustrate the positions of each paradigm with respect to the three questions.

Table 3.2. Basic beliefs (metaphysics) of alternative inquiry paradigms

Item	Positivism	Post-positivism	Critical Theory et al	Constructivism
Ontology	naïve realism-"real" reality but apprehendable	critical realism-"real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable	historical realism-virtual reality shaped by social, political cultural, economic ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time	relativism-local and specific constructed realities
Epistemology	dualist/ objectivist; findings true	modified dualist/ objectivist critical tradition/ community; findings probably true	transactional/ subjectivist; value-mediated findings	transactional/ subjectivist; created findings
Methodology	experimental/ manipulative verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	modified experimental/ manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods.	dialogic/dialectical	hermeneutical/ dialectical

Guba and Lincoln (1998, p. 203)

Note that Guba and Lincoln have added another paradigm, namely post-positivism, in their articulation of the broad range of paradigmatic considerations. While Guba and Lincoln sometimes accuse post-positivism as being merely a revision or slight

adjustment of the positivist position, proponents of post-positivism see it as a "wholesale rejection of the central tenets of positivism" (Trochim, 2001, p.2). The above summary of basic beliefs will be used as a framework to explore the paradigmatic concepts more fully and to anchor the present study in relation to the broader research paradigmatic considerations.

Ontological considerations

Guba and Lincoln (1998) maintain that the "term *positivism* denotes a 'received view' that has dominated the formal discourse in the physical and social sciences for some 400 years" (p. 202). Post-positivism according to them, represents attempts over the past few decades to respond in a limited way to the criticisms of positivism, while essentially remaining within the same set of beliefs. Critical theory (for them) denotes a set of alternative paradigms/approaches that include neo-Marxism, feminism and participatory inquiry. "The term *constructivism* denotes an alternative paradigm whose breakaway assumption is the move from ontological realism to ontological relativism" (p. 203). This paradigm divide is further complicated by a conceptual split between a quantitative paradigm and a qualitative paradigm, where positivism and post-positivism would be lumped under the quantitative banner and critical theory and constructivism under the qualitative banner. This is a false dichotomy and will be pursued later in the section concerned with the methodological dimensions of research.

The term 'ontology' means the study of reality (Mouton & Marais, 1990; Mouton, 1996; Sarankatos, 1998). Positivists, according to Mouton (1996), believe that there are enough similarities between the social and natural worlds to justify a common epistemology and methodology in all the sciences, meaning that they 'borrowed' their underlying theoretical assumptions from the natural sciences. In the social sciences, they would hold that there exists a stable reality 'out there' that can be objectively captured through the senses. All who abide by particular rules of 'observation' can also uniformly perceive this reality and it (reality) is governed by a set of universal laws. The ontology therefore is based on the premise of the existence of a stable external reality. The aim of research here "would be to provide an accurate description of the laws and mechanisms that operate in social life" (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999,

p. 60). In a positivist view of the world, science was seen as the way to get at truth, to understand the world well enough so that we might predict and control it. The world and the universe were deterministic – they operated by laws of cause and effect that we could discern if we applied the unique approach of the scientific method. May (1993) makes the additional point that, positivism shares with empiricism "the belief that there are 'facts' which we can gather on the social world, *independently* of how people interpret them" (p. 6). The data collected, through meticulous and accurate measurement will themselves constitute an end for the research and 'will speak for themselves'. This 'correspondence theory' of reality is highly contested.

The 'constructed reality' as promoted by the constructivists, is an ontological position that maintains that reality is a construction in the minds of individuals. Since there are a lot of individuals, there will be multiple realities and the realities will be interpreted differently by different people. "Under this ontological position, the constructed realities ought to match the tangible entities as closely as possible, not, however, in order to create a derivative or reconstructed single reality or fulfil the criterion of objectivity, but rather to represent the multiple constructions of individuals (or fulfil the criteria of fairness)" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.84). Interpretive science tries to capture reality as it is, namely as seen and experienced by respondents. Constructivism, for Lincoln and Guba, hangs together with relativism. This is particularly so in their promotion of 'fourth generation evaluation' (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). "For Guba and Lincoln there is no reality except that created by people as they attempt to make sense of their surroundings, and evaluation creates the reality that it presents, rather than discovering some objectively existing reality" (Shaw, p. 39). The ontological axiom therefore, that under-gird constructivist inquiry is the following;

> There is no single reality on which inquiry may converge, but rather there are multiple realities that are socially constructed, and that, when known more fully, tend to produce diverging inquiry. These multiple and constructed realities cannot be studied in pieces (as variables, for example), but holistically, since the pieces are interrelated in such a way as to influence all other pieces. Moreover, the pieces are themselves sharply influenced by the nature of the immediate context. (Lincoln and Guba, 1986, p. 75)

Since the natural belief systems of constructivism are formed of 'oppositional and conflicting' assertions to that of positivism, Guba (1987) believes that the possibility of some form of conceptual (not methods level) accommodation does not exist. This is also termed the 'incommensurability' of different perspectives.

For critical theorists complex realites are formed in people's minds. However, very often these realities are not what they seem. They hold that powerful people for the purpose of manipulation construct reality and to serve their own needs. Also, instead of reality being orderly, it is always in a state of conflict, tension and contradiction, resulting in a constantly changing world (Sarankatos, 1998). "Critical theory reached its zenith in the 1960s and 1970s. Its emphasis upon alienation, the domination of nature, the regressive components of progress, the mutability of human nature, and the stultifying effects of the culture industry and advanced industrial society made the enterprise relevant for young intellectuals" (Bronner, 1994, p. 9). Critical theorists believe that subjective meanings are relevant and important but they do not deny the existence of objective relations. For them there are also appearances and reality. Reality often does not reflect the conflicts and contradictions that are prevalent in society, and appearance is based on illusion and distortion. "The interest of the critical theorists is to uncover these myths and illusions, to expose real structures and present reality as it is" (Sarankatos, 1998, p. 36). An example of this task would be the feminist agenda that sets out to expose patriarchal attitudes and gender divisions that work against the interest of women. Critical theorists further hold that society operates on the basis of oppression and exploitation. Masses of people are alienated from the corridors of power and this is a manifestation of a situation of domination. Freire (1998) states that "the more the alienated culture is uncovered, the more the oppressive reality in which it originates is exposed" (p. 476).

At this point, before looking at the ontological position of the post-positivist paradigm, it is possible to insert examples of programme evaluation approaches under each of the three paradigms discussed above. However, the literature informing and promoting programme evaluation practices of various kinds, starts and remains at a methodological dimension. The exception would include among others, Guba and Lincoln with their Fourth Generation Evaluation and Pawson and Tilley who

encourage Realistic Evaluation. This phenomenon of non-disclosure is common according to Mouton (1996). He states that social scientists generally do not see the need to make their social ontologies explicit and that these are only articulated at a meta-science level. For this researcher, and specifically in the context of this academic endeavour, the differences, after much reflection and based on field experiences, became less stark. While there was some inclination toward elements in the *interpretive* and the *critical perspectives*, as opposed to the *positivist* position, even at an ontological level, given the research context this researcher could not *disagree* with a statement like, 'reality is perceived through the senses' – often used as a critique of the positivist stance. Nor was there full agreement with the statement, 'reality is based on oppression and exploitation' a position held within the critical-emancipatory paradigm.

Complete agreement with the arguments for and against the positivism and the interpretivist traditions or paradigms also proved to be difficult, particularly since House (1994) points out that neither of these paradigms is fully adequate. He finds that the positivist tradition is correct to stress the causal tendencies at work in social life, which may be removed from the individual's own understanding. But, according to him, it is misleading to reduce these tendencies to empirical regularities. He feels that "the view that scientific inference involve no extratheoretical or extraobservational judgements, but are facts methodologically inferred about an uninterpreted reality, is not correct" (p. 16). In the same vain, House states that the constructivist paradigm is correct to make the point that as social actors, research subjects interpret their own reality similar to the way in which researchers will understand it. Where it errs, according to House, "is in reducing knowledge to just the modality of this relationship, as if there were nothing more. It neglects external causes and conditions, unintended consequences, and the internal contradictions of social beliefs, rules and actions" (p. 16). These revelations, and factors related to the utility value for the present study, forced this researcher to look for interconnections rather than focus only on the differences pointed out so strongly by proponents of the two paradigms.

According to Mouton (1996), this stance is considered to be in line with a 'realist'stance that "believe that, although there are fundamental differences between

the social and the natural world, there are also certain similarities, or at least continuities, which justify the adoption of similar approaches in epistemology and methodology" (p. 47). But a realist ontology, located within the post-positivist paradigm, also referred to as a 'common-sense ontology' by Outhwaite (1987), is not a single, commonly understood concept within the philosophy of social research. " 'Realism', as with paradigm, is a word that has attracted increasingly varied and differentiated meanings" (Shaw, 1999, p. 54).

Outhwaite (1987) argues that realism can only be understood in terms of its opposition to other metatheories of science such as empiricism and instrumentalism, among others. Outhwaite draws on Roy Bhaskar's book, *A Realist Theory of Science (1978)*, as do most Realists, where he distinguishes between three broad positions:

1. *Classical empiricism*: 'the ultimate objects of knowledge are atomistic events'.
2. *Transcendental idealism*: 'the objects of scientific knowledge are models, ideals of natural order etc… the natural world becomes a construction of the human mind, or, in its modern versions, of the scientific community'.
3. *Transcendental realism*: 'it regards the objects of knowledge as the structures and mechanisms that generate phenomena; and the knowledge as produced in the social activities of science. These objects are neither phenomena (empiricism) nor human constructs imposed upon the phenomena (idealism) but real structures which endure independently of our knowledge, our experience, and the conditions which allow us access to them.'(p. 32)

Outhwaite then argues from a transcendental realist perspective and accuses classical empiricism and transcendental idealism of reducing ontology to epistemology, from questions about being to questions about our knowledge of being. However, Sayer's (2000), choice or take on realism is 'critical realism', that according to him, "provides an alternative to both hopes of a law-finding science of society modelled on natural science methodology and the anti-naturalist or interpretivist reductions of social science to the interpretation of meaning" (p. 3). Sayer describes clearly to a realist

view of reality, albeit from a critical realist perspective. For him the real is whatever exists, be it natural or social, whether it can be measured or not or whatever the current understanding of the nature of that reality might be. Also, realism concerns itself with the structures and powers of phenomena, be they physical, like minerals, or social, like bureaucracies. According to Sayer (2000) these 'objects' "have certain structures and causal powers, that is, specific susceptibilities to certain kinds of change" (p. 12). For Sayer, an important "implication of this ontology is the recognition of the possibility that powers may exist unexercised, and hence that what has happened or been known to have happened does not exhaust what could happen or have happened" (p. 12.). Critical realism also holds that observation (the senses) may boost the level of confidence with which social researchers can comment on reality, but existence itself is not dependent on it. He further states that:

> Critical realism acknowledges that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful, and hence that meaning is not only externally descriptive of them but constitutive of them. Meaning has to be understood, it cannot be measured or counted, and hence there is always an interpretive or hermeneutic element in social science. (p. 17)

Another 'group of realists', who argue similarly for the need to look beyond the traditional positivistic and constructivist paradigms divide, is developing an approach to evaluation research referred to as *emergent realist evaluation* (ERE). Their espoused ontology is in agreement with the above in that they assume that reality exists apart from their own understanding of it. In addition to this, they assume that, "as complex organisms in the world, humans have evolved sense-making capabilities for understanding the world" (Mark, Henry and Julnes, 1998, p. 4). This 'sense-making', leads us beyond the ontological into the epistemological frame of how we come to know about the world.

Epistemological considerations

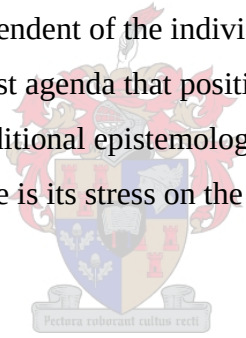
What follows is a more integrated treatment of the epistemological dimensions of the paradigms outlined above. While, as suggested earlier, social researchers seldom

articulate their social ontologies, contemporary evaluation studies are becoming increasingly characterized by epistemological and methodological pluralism. This is not so for Denzin & Lincoln (1998) who maintain that constructivists make an epistemological claim that knowledge does not encounter or "discover a pre-existing, independent, real world outside the mind of the knower, that the process of making or constructing meaning cannot be connected to an independent world out there, but only to our own constructing processes" (p. 249). They however admit that there is a tension between claiming that knowledge is the property of individual minds and the view that knowledge can be publicly shared. The positivist on the other hand believes in empiricism – the idea that observation and measurement is the core of the scientific endeavour. The key approach of the scientific method is the experiment, the attempt to discern natural laws though direct manipulation and observation.

Lengermann & Niebrugge (1996) highlight the epistemological task of the feminist researcher in analysing the relations between knowledge and power. They claim that the actor's location in the social system in which power determines placement and placement, power, will dictate what happens to the actor's account of any event. These epistemological positions are based on the belief that there are fundamental differences between natural and social phenomena that make the methods associated with the scientific paradigm inappropriate for investigating the social world. The use of survey methods and experimental designs, which limit the interaction that takes place between the investigator and the investigated, according to Denzin and Lincoln, is based on the assumption that it is possible to separate the researcher from the researched. Also that 'objectivity', through the employment of randomised sampling techniques in order to control for bias, is possible. For Guba and Lincoln (1989) the alternative or qualitative paradigm is based on a relativist paradigm. It is not the task of the researcher to identify which version of reality corresponds to the truth, rather, it is to ensure that the multitude of versions are accurately recorded and reported. The task of the qualitative/interpretive researcher is to acquire insight and develop understanding. For Clarke and Dawson (1999) the issue is one of scientific objectivity versus phenomenological subjectivity. Shaw (1999) understands the above, interpretivist stance, to be a radically relativist epistemology of evaluation:

> It is… fashioned around assumptions that truth is a matter of consensus, facts do not have meaning except within some value framework, and causes and effects exist only in that they are imputed. Relativists believe that problems, findings and solutions from one context cannot be generalized to another. Evaluators are subjective partners with stakeholders in the literal creation of data and act as orchestrators of a negotiation process. (p. 55)

Pawson and Tilley (1997) recognise the contribution made by the constructivist arguments of Guba and Lincoln, namely the bringing back of the individual's (people's) perspective into the deliberations of evaluation research which was, according to them a valuable corrective to perspectives that became obsessed with behavioural outcomes. However, they feel that the pendulum had swung too far and some items were lost from the agenda. In particular they contend that constructivism suffers from its "inability to grasp those structural and institutional features of society which are in some respects independent of the individuals' reasoning and desires" (p. 23). Instead, they promote a realist agenda that positions itself as a model of scientific explanation which avoids the traditional epistemological poles of positivism and relativism. "Realism's key feature is its stress on the mechanisms of explanation" (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, 55).



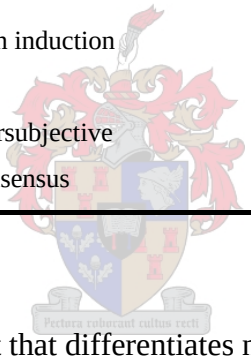
Shaw (1999) also points out that a critique of realism is often based on the assumption that it, realism, demands an absolutist view of the role of inquiry, referred to as foundationalism. This foundationalism is thought to involve a strict correspondence view of truth and that evaluation can represent realities independent of the inquiry process. This assumption links realism firmly within a positivist tradition where great store is set on observation as the discloser of the true nature reality. There is also a blind confidence in the objectivity of the evaluator. If this form of realism exists, Shaw calls it a naïve form of realism. He maintains that constructivism is not incompatible with realism. Modern realism, or neo-realism according to Julnes and Mark (1998) involves elements of both empiricism and constructivism. They present the following table to illustrate how realism shares with empiricism the belief that there is a real world that exist apart from human constructions and at the same time shares with

constructivism the belief that people's perceptions of reality are mediated by what they bring to the experience.

Table: 3.3. Traditional dichotomies and realist responses

Validation Paradigm	Interpretivist Paradigm	Neo-Realism
Real world; objectively Experienced	subjective reality; constructed experience	real world; constructed experience
General laws	context-specific Interpretations	casual regularities
Reductionism	holistic complexity	embedded systems
Mechanical causes	intentionality	emergent order
Formal deductions	open induction	natural sensemaking
Valid knowledge	intersubjective Consensus	warranted beliefs and actions

Julnes and Mark, 1998, p. 37



The central epistemological point that differentiates neo-realists theories from previous realist positions, according to Julnes and Mark, is that the objective of inquiry and theory development is to allow judgements about the plausibility of truth value claims – not the establishment of these claims. They further state that while universal or absolute truth will not be the objective of inquiry, this does not equate with sanctioning any conclusions. There are, according to them, criteria to be used to support conclusions. The particular approach to understanding the world offered by the emergent or neo-realists, is *sensemaking* that according to them, "describe efforts to construct meaningful order, thus differentiating this process from more positivistic efforts aimed at revealing laws and truth as though seen with a God's-Eye View" (p. 39). 'Sensemaking' refers to 'ways of knowing' that have evolved in a complex, open systems world. They contend that sensemaking is not the deductive process envisioned in the validation paradigm because:

> …in an open systems world, it is unrealistic to expect that a given mechanism will always yield the same result and, thus there will be a constant conjunction of cause and effect. For example, in the open systems in which evaluators work there are innumerable alternative potential influences that often moderate how presumed causal mechanisms manifest themselves as observed patterns. … As a result, strict deduction has it limits (p. 41, 42).

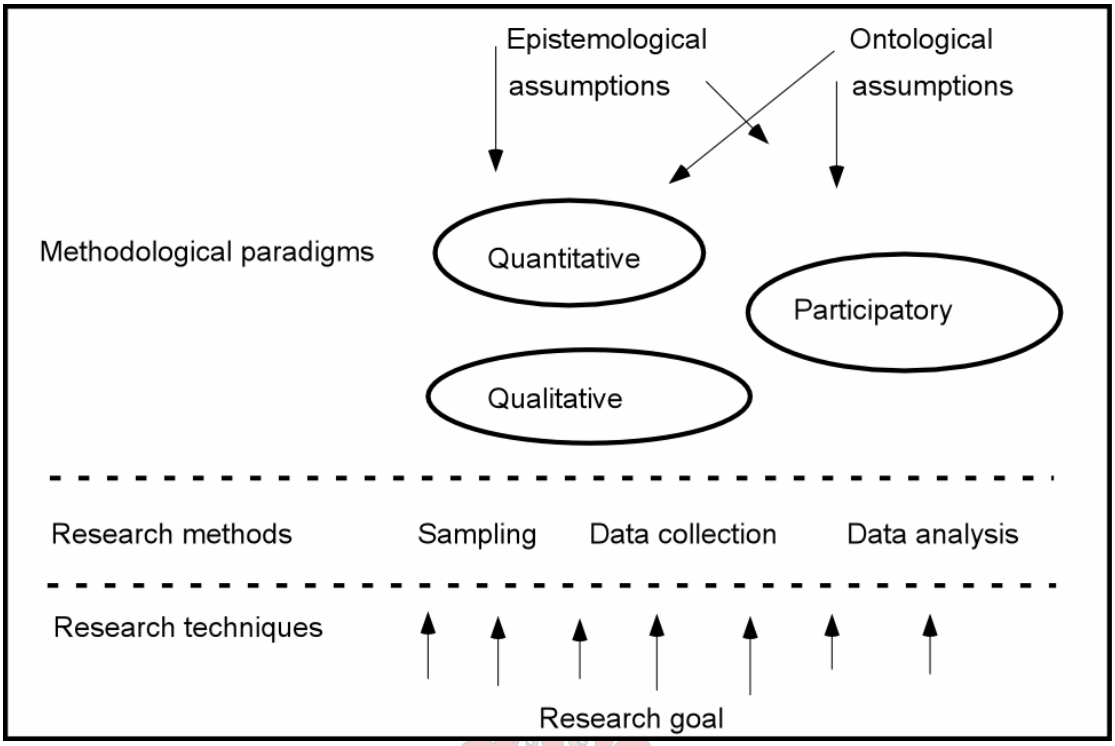
Emergent realists also do not rule out, as some logical empiricist did, an important role for induction in the establishment of valid knowledge. Besides confirming an elevated role for induction, particularly because of its suitability in more natural complex settings, Julnes and Mark believe that the construal of causality can be represented as the result of a combination of induction and deduction.

The reason for sharing these expanded views of the epistemological positions of the critical realists and other 'neo-realists' is to convey a synergic relationship with the present study. The quest within this study was similar to some of the views expressed above but more particularly to steer a path that moved beyond the traditional epistemological poles of positivism and relativism.

Methodological considerations

Mouton (1996) distinguishes between three levels within, what he calls, the methodological dimension of research. He discusses the methodological dimension as a separate construction to that of the epistemological, ontological and other dimensions. The levels within the methodological dimension are 'research techniques', 'research methods' and 'methodological paradigms'. These levels, according to him, "differ in terms of complexity and level of abstractness" (p. 36). Mouton's illustration of the levels in the methodological dimension is illuminative and is presented below.

Figure: 3.1. Levels in the methodological dimension



Mouton, 1996, p. 37

There are those (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Greene, 1993) who would argue that one cannot separate the three levels of the methodological dimension because they are all tied in with the epistemological and ontological assumptions of the methodological paradigm. The methodological paradigm would either be quantitative, qualitative or participatory. While the 'participatory action' paradigm is a recent addition to the methodological paradigm discourse, the primary debate and controversy have been between proponents promoting the quantitative or the qualitative paradigm. The quantitative paradigm within the social sciences took their methodological lead from the physical sciences based on the assumption that social phenomena adhere to underlying social laws just as physical phenomena follow physical laws. The same logic of inquiry would apply and it is this 'scientific' view to social inquiry that is referred to as positivism. Critics of the quantitative paradigm point to what they regard as limitations of this orientation:

- The overemphasis positivists place on measurement is wrong and unjustifiable, for it cannot capture real meaning of social behaviour. Quantification often results in 'meanings' that are closer to the beliefs of the researchers than to those of the respondents.
- Reality cannot be defined objectively but subjectively: reality is interpreted social action. Objectivity can only lead to a technocratic and bureaucratic dehumanisation [Brieschke, 1992:174]
- The use of hypotheses is problematic for many reasons but especially because it determines the course of the study at the outset, and restricts the options of questions and responses, forcing upon the respondents opinions or intentions which they might otherwise not have expressed.
- Quantitative research restricts experience in two ways: first by directing research to what is perceived by the senses; and second by employing only standardised tools, based on quantifiable data, to test hypotheses.
- This methodology employs a theoretical perspective and a form of research that supports the status quo and existing power structures.
- Because quantitative research works on the principles of natural sciences (i.e. objectivity, neutrality), research objects are seen as scientific objects and are treated as such.
- The methods employed by quantitative researchers seem to separate the research object from its context. Data collection, for instance, is usually taken out of the context of the research object. In most cases, controlling variables is a virtue. Factors such as the Hawthorne-effect or reactivity-effect must then be avoided at all cost… Positivism employs unidirectional research practices, which present the researcher as a separate, objective and autonomous expert, who acts on the respondent.

(Sarantakos, 1998, pp. 43-45)

The qualitative paradigm on the other-hand, is seen by its critics as having the following weaknesses:

- It is an easy way of doing research, a soft option where 'anything goes'.
- There are problems of reliability caused by extreme subjectivity.

- A risk of collecting meaningless and useless information.
- It is very time-consuming
- There are problems of representativeness and generalisability of findings
- There are problems of ethics (entering the personal sphere of subjects).
- Problems of objectivity and detachment
- The agenda of the researcher and that of the subjects become confused.
- Cannot be replicated and therefore is not useful in a broader context.

Strong methodological arguments still persist and Greene (2001), a staunch and vociferous advocate for qualitative methodology makes the following comment.

> Methods today remain the foundation of our work, our own theories about our work, even our sense of purpose and identity in the larger society. We are defined, by ourselves and others, as a profession with technical skills to contribute to the ongoing appraisal of human society's efforts to improve its socio-economic organization and its distribution of status, wealth and rights, and responsibilities. Yes, we bring experience, wisdom, and insight when we arrive with our toolkit. But, we never arrive without our toolkit. Our tools substantially define our role. (p. 398)

The dispute between advocates of qualitative and quantitative produced, over the last two decades, according to Mark (2001), "if not the most discussion of any other topic in the evaluation literature, then most certainly the loudest" (p. 458). Worthen (1999) pleads for the negotiation of permanent truces in the divisive paradigm wars.

> Suffice to say that the debate has been generally unproductive and even vicious as advocates of these opposing views have fired vitriolic salvos back and forth that the field of evaluation was scorched, pock-marked, not enlightened, from the exchange. …All together, nearly three decades have been marked by acrimony between seemingly irreconcilable methodological persuasions. (p. 4)

These espoused differences between the quantitative and qualitative methodologies play out as dichotomies of objectivity versus subjectivity, fixed versus emergent

categories, outsider versus insider perspectives, facts versus values, explanation versus understanding, and single versus multiple realities. “Conceived in this way, the two approaches are not compatible” (House. 1994, p.16). House further contends that the continued obsession with the qualitative-quantitative dispute is a reflection of our fixation on method. House regards research methods as everyday work tools, which should be seen as means to an end, and not the end itself. They are tools that can be utilised within a conception of science as a social activity that involves considerable judgement. Smith (1994) also believes that “the intentions and assumptions of evaluators are confused with the methods they use, a confounding of ideas and tools” (p. 41).

The continuing philosophical dispute between proponents of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms has also led to the emergence of ‘methodological pragmatism’ which is not the same as ‘philosophical pragmatism’. Methodological pragmatism rests on an emphasis on real world evaluation and practice. It claims that methods can be separated from the epistemology out of which they emerged and rejects methodological orthodoxy in favour of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality.

> Methodological pragmatism typically leads to a rejection of both epistemological and methodological purism, a contentment with a good enough methodology, and a pluralist approach to specific methods. Thus complaining about the philosophically besotted, Scriven says, ‘it is better to build on what might conceivably be sand … than not to build at all … It is a waste of time to try to solve the problems of epistemology without getting on with the job’. [Shaw, 1999, 53]

Shaw (1999) believes that the ideas of methodological pragmatism have the potential to critically integrate aspects of postpositivism, constructivist and empowerment approaches to evaluation but that this approach is still in its infancy. Guba and Lincoln on the other hand argue against methodological pragmatism and take the position that the disagreement is at the level of basic axioms, rather than methodological postures. Yet another methodological stance, similar to methodological pragmatism, is the

promotion of ‘mixed methods’ as a new dominant methodological approach. Chen (1997) feels that to promote mixed methods as a superior methodology “would be a burden rather than a blessing for the development of mixed methods, because many contexts are poorly suited for mixed methods” (p. 62). He contends that the promotion of a mixed methods approach to evaluation will strengthen the myth that evaluation problems essentially stem from faulty inquiry methods rather than from insufficient understanding of assumptions and mechanisms underlying intervention programmes. He also points out that Guba and Lincoln, among others have already challenged the feasibility and meaningfulness of mixed methods, therefore its promotion may expand the paradigm wars that have divided particularly the evaluation community.

Shaw (1999) agrees that this essential tension between philosophical paradigms and practice is likely to remain contested. He then proceeds to present his own philosophical approach to evaluation, which is quite uncharacteristic of social researchers.

> My own position lies with a strong version of fallible realism of postpositivism, the constructed character of reality, and the central role of political and personal interest. On paradigms my premise is that the relationship between paradigms and methods is an empirical question. … Some would not be very far from a strict positivist position in respect of their apparent belief that evaluation can provide an account closely approximate to reality. Others, such as the writer, take the position that, while some versions of objectivity remains a ‘regulatory ideal’, evaluative processes and results are always significantly jeopardized by interests, the social location of the evaluator and powerful stakeholders, and, in Guba’s surprisingly realist phrase, nature’s propensity to confound. (Shaw, 53-58)

It is Shaw’s inclusive stance to philosophical, practical and political factors as they relate to evaluation research that appeals to the present study. This stance is not unique and echoes Sayer’s (2000) claim that critical realism, compared to positivism and interpretivism, endorses a relatively wide range of research methods. The particular choices of research methods should always depend on the nature of the object of study

and what one wants to learn about it. Sayer (2000), stresses that "realists reject cookbook prescriptions of method which allow one to imagine that one can do research by simply applying them without having a scholarly knowledge of the object of study in question" (p. 19). Pawson and Tilley (1998) put it more strongly when they state that the usage of a particular research method does not commit the researcher wholesale to a particular explanatory package. For them "it is possible to be empirical without being empiricist, and so that one can examine subjectivities without being subjectivist. In short, at a practical level, realism is dedicated to some form of pluralist empirical inquiry" (p.158).

This study took guidance from some of the latter points in terms of the methodological choices that were made. In terms of an approach to evaluation, this study was also guided by a list of criteria for an evaluator provided by Smith (1994):

> Let me state what I look for: a sense that the evaluator was present over a long enough period and close enough to the action and to the participants' meanings; informed by some system of theoretical ideas about the social and educational substance of the program; adept at the ethical, political and personal relationships that qualitative methods make inevitable; successful in sampling widely with multitude indicators and methods; adept at forms of representation; oriented toward challenging standard hypotheses and assumptions; self-critical and amenable to the scrutiny of the field, peers, participants, and stakeholders; and able to penetrate to an understanding of the matters at hand. I offer these criteria while acknowledging that the use of any or all of them does not somehow corner the truth. (p. 42)

This list of criteria indicates a need for the evaluator to consider issues that go beyond that of merely selecting appropriate methods. In fact, an earlier comment by House (1994) blames the 'fixation on method' for the continued obsession with the qualitative-quantitative dispute.

From method focus to theory focus

The pre-occupation with methods, completely de-linked from the research problem or the research focus within programme evaluation, is a central concern for this study. This pre-occupation masks simultaneously, the unique features of certain intervention programmes and the opportunity to discover and identify underlying mechanisms that operate across a number of programmes. An alternative to the method focus, one that embraces the apparent contradictions in science at the ontological and epistemological levels, is a theory-focused approach to evaluation research.

Chen (1990) advocates the replacing of the method-oriented approach to evaluation with a theory-driven perspective. The role of programme theory in developing, operating and evaluating programmes is gaining increased emphasis in recent years (Chen and Rossi, 1983; Bickman, 1987. 1990; Lipsey, 1985; Weiss, 1997,). Wholey (1987) stated that programme theory identifies "program resources, program activities, and intended program outcomes, and specifies a chain of causal assumptions linking program resources, activities, intermediate outcomes and ultimate outcomes" (p. 88). In the past, programme evaluators have been criticised for examining the causal linkages between programmes and outcomes via experimental or quasi-experimental designs, methods-driven, that treat the intervention programme as a "black box", without concern for the transformation process in the middle. A theory-based approach to evaluation assumes therefore, that underlying any social intervention is an explicit or latent "theory" about how the intervention is meant to change outcomes.

Furthermore, Clarke (1999) draws on Pawson and Tilley's (cited earlier) contention that the careful enunciation of program theory is the prerequisite to sound evaluation. They believe, according to Clarke, that their model for the specification of the theory underlying social programmes, based on a conceptual configuration of mechanisms, contexts and outcomes is the most appropriate strategy to employ. Pawson and Tilley offer their solution from a Realist perspective and they also stress that it is the actions of individuals and groups that make interventions work. "Ultimately, theory provides guidelines for establishing the key issues in an evaluation and determines what the most appropriate research methods are for addressing those issues" (Clarke, p. 32).

Every programme, according to Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey, (1999), contains, at a conceptual level, a structure, certain functions and procedures related to how it will achieve its objectives. This conception of the logic or plan of the programme is what they call the 'program theory'. There is a belief that a clear understanding of a programme's theory can contribute to the successful performance of the evaluative tasks.

Chen and Rossi (1983) are of the opinion that the domination of the experimental paradigm in programme evaluation literature has resulted in a neglect in the development of theoretical models of social interventions. The focus on the programme theory also provides a focus for the evaluator and a way to deal with the methodological questions that will arise. Chen (1997) explains:

> Theory-driven evaluation creates a superordinate goal. Program theory is the substantive area of focus in the theory-driven perspective. This substantive focus serves as a superordinate goal for quantitative and qualitative methods to pursue jointly. …The demands on evaluation methods under this framework are more concerned with how different methods could be used to understand the nature of program theory and how theory actually operates, and are less concerned with methodological elegance, purity, or loyalty. (p. 66)

As stated in a previous chapter, the theory-based approach to evaluation has a number of critics. One such critic, Greene (1993), who promotes qualitative evaluation above any other form of evaluation, contends that the adoption of a conceptual framework (programme theory) that will inform the direction of the evaluation, is 'antithetical to qualitative evaluation'. Greene however does not dismiss the notion of theory development within the evaluation process. Within a qualitative framework, she proposes practices that will contribute to programme theory in order to assert for qualitative evaluation legitimacy as a science and a stronger voice in policy debates. She clarifies her position as follows:

> The suggestion here is not to use existing theory to guide the evaluation, or to use the evaluation to inform existing theory – for that is theory-driven

> evaluation. Rather, the challenge rendered is to incorporate theory-related issues into qualitative evaluation, to inform these issues via local, contextualized perspectives and understandings, and thereby contribute an interpretive program theory to science and infuse and interpretive voice in the broader policy domain. (p. 35)

This position may seem to contrast with that of the theory-based proponents, and indeed, it is precisely this contrast that Greene wants to highlight. In doing so, she manages to foreground, as do the theory-based proponents, the value of theory construction. She later adds that evaluators should contribute to the collective understanding of human phenomena and that "as scientists, program evaluators should acknowledge and resume this responsibility. In this sense, the theory-driven folks are right" (p. 41). Her main concern is the purported emphasis on 'dominant views of theory' external to the programme at the expense of a commitment to 'local theory'. Greene's suggestions for how to incorporate programme theory into qualitative evaluation also do not differ dramatically from other proposals. The following are her suggestions:

- Explicate up front the evaluator's own theoretical predispositions
- Describe local program theories as part of context
- Attend to theory-relevant issues as an explicit emergent focus of inquiry
- Integrate program theory into evaluation conclusions and recommendations. (p. 35)

The source of the programme theory or theories is discussed in great detail by Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey (1999). Much depends on whether the programme theory is explicitly stated in the documents available or if the programme theory is implicit and can only be attained through interaction with the management and staff of the intervention agency. Lipsey (1989) raises the concern when programme staff and sponsors have not been able to articulate and carefully document the programme theory. It then becomes the task of the evaluator to assist the organisation to generate the programme theory so that it can be used in the evaluation. He further outlines some approaches to developing programme theory that can be found in the evaluation

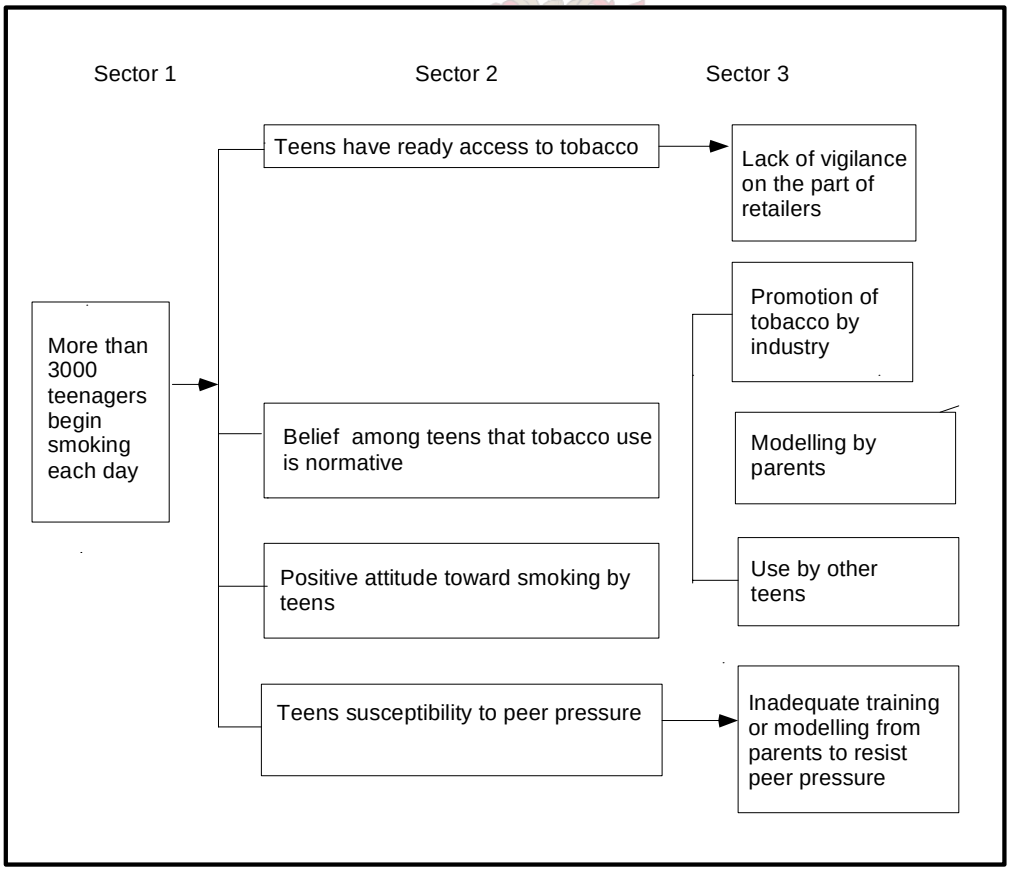
research literature. The first approach is to bring 'prior research and theory' "to bear on the task of developing a conceptual framework for program process" (p. 323). Lipsey suggests that this is not a difficult task because there are very few areas for which one or more academic discipline has not generated some relevant concepts, research and theory. A second approach, especially if no well-articulated programme theory is present, is for the evaluator to do 'exploratory research' during the evaluation process. He suggests that the exploratory theory-oriented research can be done informally through interaction with programme staff, sponsors, clients and the programme environment. The evaluator would use this approach to develop a more explicit albeit provisional programme theory. The third approach suggested by Lipsey is when no explicit causal mechanism is defined or readily identifiable in a programme, then the evaluator has to 'extract the implicit theory' from programme staff, sponsors, clients and the environment. Results of this process can, according to him, be depicted with diagrams, and "probing and questioning the beliefs they represent to encourage the theory to develop more specificity, sophistication and realism" (p. 325). 'Cause-maps' and 'concept mapping' are examples of two structured techniques that can be used to obtain the necessary information.

Cole (1999) states that the above is 'easier said than done'. He believes that while proponents of theory-based evaluation have provided strong reasoning for this approach, little has been done by way of providing the necessary tools for implementing it in practice. To this end, that is, the development of application tools, he proposes a framework that he considers to be valuable for theory-driven discrepancy evaluation. Cole's application departs from the premise that "the most fundamental requirement in conducting any evaluation is the need for a standard of comparison" (p. 454). The standards referred to here would be the programme theories on the one hand, and the theories of the problem the programme is designed to address. Cole calls the latter, aetiology theories. For him the challenge in the theory-based approach to evaluation is to "construct an expected program theory of action (i.e., the standard of comparison) that accurately reflects how a program is supposed to perform or an aetiology theory that accurately reflects the nature of the problem(s) the program is designed to overcome" (p. 456). The strategies he puts forward to address this challenge are termed the Aetiologic Theory Structuring Guide (ATSG), the

Intervention Theory Structuring Guide (ITSG), and the Cause/Effect Theory Structuring Guide (C/ETSG).

The Aetiologic Theory Structuring Guide (ATSG) assists the user to adequately define the problem that will be addressed. The problem is firstly defined in terms of its root causes and how these causes relate to the problem and each other. Secondly, the problem is defined in terms of a discrepancy between what is desired and the current situation, as observed. A third component to this guide focuses on the attributes of those experiencing the problem and the dimensions or scope of the problem. Cole proposes that this process be diagrammatically illustrated by creating what he calls a Problem Aetiology Chart (PAC). The following is an example of a PAC.

Figure: 3.2. Hypothetical Problem Aetiology Chart (PAC): Illustrating possible determinants of smoking among teenagers.



Cole, 1999, p. 458

Sector1 defines or places the problem; in this case a health problem that will serve as the focus of the intervention. The problem is 'labelled', to use Cole's word, in sector 2 and further expanded in sector 3. After a problem has been clearly defined, as for example in the hypothetical PAC advanced by Cole above, he suggests that the Intervention Theory Structuring Guide (ITSG) can be used to construct a programme or an activity model for the intervention that will resolve or address the problem. The ITS guide will help with decisions about which causal factors in the PAC will targeted and which activities will be developed to address or eliminate the determinants. It also requires planners to articulate steps for the intervention through the setting of development standards. " By definition, development standards are explicit statements (measurable objectives) for each step that must be carried out to develop the intervention or one of its component parts. In the process of carrying out the evaluation, these standards are compared against information that is collected on the development of the intervention to determine whether the intervention is developed as planned" (p. 459). Corresponding theoretical implementation standards (measurable objectives) to determine whether the intervention is implemented as planned are also generated. Cole provides the following ITSG as an example of the planning process involved in theory construction, note, this is before developing an activity plan with timelines.

Table: 3.4. Guide for organizing determinants addressed by the program and the corresponding program activities applied to these determinants.

Determinants targeted by program	Program activities applied to determinants
Teens have ready access to tobacco caused by lack of vigilance on the part of retailers to check ID's	Enact laws against selling cigarettes to underage teens. Impose substantial fines for selling tobacco products to teens. Outlaw cigarette vending machines.
Belief among teens that tobacco use is normative resulting from promotion of tobacco products, modelling by parents, and smoking by peers.	Develop a counter-advertising campaign against tobacco advertising demonstrated to be effective with teens
Positive attitude toward smoking by teens By promotion of tobacco products modelling by parents, and smokingby peers.	Develop communication program that stresses the fact that most teens and adults do not smoke
Teens susceptible to peer pressure to smoke due to inadequate training or modelling from parents to resist peer pressure.	Inform smoking parents about the negative effects of their personal example on their children's attitude toward tobacco use. Provide peer pressure resistance training

Cole, 1999, p. 461

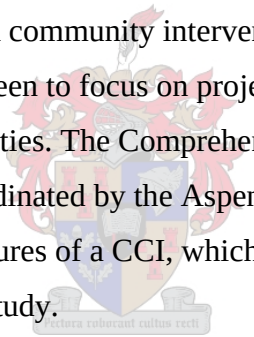
The Cause/Effect Theory Structuring Guide brings together the activities in the previous two guides to be used to create an aggregate theory that is referred to as a cause/effect theory. Intended short-, medium- and long-term effects are specified for each activity and are articulated as cause/effect objectives. Cole summarises the benefits of utilising of these guides as follows:

> These statements express the assumed causal relationships between the activity and its intended effects. Accordingly, each cause/effect objective serves a

> theoretical assumption relating to how a program activity is intended to work. These assumptions can be tested by comparing data collected in the evaluation (step 4) to each cause/effect objective. The results can be analysed to determine whether a discrepancy exists between what is stated in the objective and what is observed in the evaluation. (p. 462)

Cole's contribution to the toolkit for theory construction is a welcome one. The challenge for this study was to consider how to utilise aspects of these guides in the evaluation of a programme that was coming to an end, where the possibility of tracking the initial problem definition and intervention strategies were limited, where the interventions changed constantly and where the problem definition was not always clear.

Community development programmes offer unique evaluation challenges. Examples of evaluation studies of broad-based community interventions in South Africa are almost non-existent. The tendency has been to focus on projects within communities and projecting that to entire communities. The Comprehensive Community Initiatives (CCI) movement in the US, coordinated by the Aspen Institute in New York provides an indication of the complex features of a CCI, which are similar to the community development programme under study.



- **Horizontal complexity**. They work across multiple sectors (social, economic, physical, political, and others) simultaneously and aim for synergy among them.
- **Vertical complexity**. They aim for change at the individual, family, community, organizational, and systems levels.
- **Community building**. They aim for strengthened community capacity, enhanced social capital, an empowered neighbourhood, and similar outcomes.
- **Contextual issues**. They aim to incorporate external political, economic and other conditions into their framework, even though they may have little power to affect them.

- **Community responsiveness and flexibility over time.** They are designed to be community-specific and to evolve in response to the dynamics of the neighbourhood and the lessons being learned by the initiative.
- **Community saturation**. They aim to reach all members of a community, and therefore individual residents cannot be randomly assigned to treatment and control groups for the purposes of assessing the CCI's impact; finding equivalent comparison communities is also not feasible.

(Kubisch, Fullbright-Anderson and Connell, 1998, p. 4)

Rogers (1998) warns that it is not possible to develop a complete model of an intervention programme. She deprecates the claims that programme theory development involves identifying the intermediate outcomes that are 'necessary' and sufficient' to produce the ultimate outcomes. She believes that for many complex programmes, operating in changing contexts, this is an unachievable task. Rogers' warning is aptly captured in the following:

> As an old saying goes, "The map is not the territory". A program model will always be a simplification of how a program works, or is intended to work, our aim should be to develop a model which is more <u>useful</u>. (p. 2)

Rogers proposes additional features that can expand and inform inadequate explanations in programme causal models. These features include:

- Competing but essential mechanisms;
- The effects of factors outside the programme;
- Non-linear causality – virtuous and vicious circles;
- and The influence of programme clients.

The need for recognising competing but essential mechanisms becomes important in an intervention where the programme model is 'inappropriately' portrayed as a single chain of intermediate and ultimate outcomes. Rogers provides the example of a telephone inquiry programme where the linear model was described as 1. Prompt pick-up of telephone; to 2. Detailed helpful advice; to 3. Customer satisfaction. A problem

arose when people struggled to get through on the telephone and this was addressed by an instruction to operators to answer all calls by the third ring. The result was that the quality of the advice suffered. Rogers believes that that it would have been more useful to show them (1 and 2) as conflicting elements which were both necessary to achieve the intended outcome.

Intervention programmes are generally programme-centric, according to Rogers. They rarely refer to other factors that may either help bring about desired outcomes, or hinder the success of the programme. This is particularly so for the traditional input-output-outcome process model. The inclusion of additional factors, be they factors within the control of the programme, or factors outside the control of the programme, will enable programme staff and evaluators to consider and measure relevant facts that might help explain success or failure at a particular site.

Rogers draws on organisational learning literature to illustrate the non-linear causal models. She cites systems thinking literature which suggests that cause and effect might often be connected in a circular way, "through a series of virtuous circles (where and initial effect leads to its own reinforcement and magnification) vicious circles (where an initial negative effect is similarly magnified)" (p. 8). This aspect of programme theory construction or model building is significant to the present study in two (probably more) ways. Firstly, it relates to the ultimate outcomes of the intervention programme and the time allotted to achieve those outcomes. It is possible that programmes are terminated before the outcomes can be reached. More importantly, the evaluation can be terminated before the ultimate outcomes are demonstrated. Secondly, negative feedback during the evaluation can be as a result of an initial mistake within the implementation, at the beginning of the programme, related to entry procedures or personality differences that continues to feed itself.

The multiple site implementation strategy of a community development programme can fall prey to the assumption that a single model operates across all project sites and for all programme clients. Rogers refers to Pawson and Tilley who highlight the importance of a particular context which can lead to a particular result. Conditions must be favourable and suited to the intervention. The attitudes of clients influence the

success of the programme. Pawson and Tilley (1997) have argued that programmes do not bring about change nor do they 'produce outcomes'. Intervention programmes offer opportunities which may be triggered into action via the subject's capacity to make choices.

> Regardless of whether they are born of inspiration or ignorance, the subject's choices at each of these junctures will frame the extent and the nature of change, … Potential subjects will consider a program (or not), volunteer for it (or not), co-operate closely (or not), stay the course (or not), learn lessons (or not), retain lessons (or not), apply lessons (or not). (p. 38)

Also instructive for this study is Rogers' appeal for humility about how complete programme theory models can possibly be. What we need to strive for, according to her, is to develop models that best suit our particular purposes. The proposal to develop 'useful' models, resonates with the 'theory of change' thrust used in the comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs). The criteria for, or attributes of a good theory of change, they set for themselves, are the following:

- **It should be plausible**. Do evidence and common sense suggest that the activities, if implemented, will lead to desired outcomes?
- **It should be doable**. Will the economic, technical, political, institutional, and human resources be available to carry out the initiative?
- **It should be testable**. Is the theory of change specific and complete enough to track its progress in credible and useful ways?

(Connell and Kubisch, 1998, p. 19)

Connell and Kubisch also state that stakeholders involved in a programme should confirm that the above attributes are present before committing the programme to an evaluation. This is obviously an ideal scenario since very few intervention programmes operate with clearly articulated 'theories of change'. Their commitment to a thorough handling of the theory of change for any programme is because, according to them, neither social science, nor experience-to-date nor participants' insights alone yet offers a complete picture of the processes of change they are seeking for their comprehensive

community initiatives. Connell and Kubisch essentially describe a planning and management tool. They admit that however full of promise the articulation of a theory of change may be, it is also fraught with difficulties. The difficulties relate to the generating of a theory of change and to the reconciling of multiple theories of change, especially if this is attempted in a collective and collaborative process.

For this study, the above philosophical and methodological discussion, created a conceptual pathway for the implementation of the evaluation process. It influenced the design elements of the evaluation, made this researcher aware of potential pitfalls and provided guidance where crucial decisions were necessary. Evidence of this can be found in the next section outlining the design of the evaluation and in later chapters dealing with the findings of the evaluation.

Evaluation design

The design for this evaluation was influenced largely by the fact that no clear programme theory was available or articulated at the beginning of the evaluation process. That task, the articulation of a programme theory, became the first stage or phase of the evaluation. The basic framework for the design borrowed heavily on Chen's (1990) conceptualisation of a programme theory, namely that a programme theory contains several basic organised patterns called domains. Whereas Weiss (1997b), considers only two components of the programme theory for the development of a 'theory of change', that is, the programme theory and implementation theory, Chen identifies six major evaluation domains that can assist with the formulation of a framework for an evaluation. The domains identified by Chen are:

- Treatment/intervention domain
- Implementation environment domain
- Outcome domain
- Impact domain
- Intervening mechanism domain
- Generalization domain.

(p. 45)

Chen's framework of a programme theory proved useful for the design of the evaluation. However, the framework was reworked to suit the needs of this study. Instead of six domains, this study considered only five, namely, the intervention domain, the implementation environment domain, the outcome domain, the impact domain and the generalisation domain. The intervening mechanism domain, suggested by Chen, was not considered less important. Instead, questions pertaining to causal processes that link the implementation to outcomes (mechanisms), were included in both the implementation and outcome domains.

This study's design also differed from Chen's articulation of domains in terms of what Chen calls 'domain theories. Chen (1990) states that "the theory-driven perspective argues that six domain theories are required to evaluate these six domains…. A systematic combination of all six domain theories constitutes a superordinate theory of the program" (p. 51). As opposed to Chen's construction, that there are six domain theories that need to be evaluated, this study used the domains, five of them, as components of the programme theory that will be considered as part of the evaluation.

Phase one of the evaluation dealt with the intervention domain that sought to address the following research question:

> What are the theoretical propositions underpinning the intervention as conceptualised by the 1) Executive management of the programme, 2) the official documentation of the organisation, 3) programme implementers and 4) participants or clients of the programme?

To this end, interviews were conducted with the executive management of CCD, programme implementers in the Mossel Bay area as well as key informants (clients). A textual analysis of relevant documents was also completed.

Phase two of the evaluation focused on the implementation environment domain and attempted to address the following research question(s):

> What are the attitudinal and conceptual shifts, if any, of the participants during and at the end of the intervention? How does this relate to the programme theory? What are the mechanisms for change triggered by the programme and how do they counteract, if at all, the existing social processes?

A number of workshops or training sessions were observed using observation schedules. Workshop facilitators were interviewed before and after workshops and a sample of participants were interviewed after the training sessions.

Phase three of the evaluation considered the outcome domain of the programme and looked at the overall effect of the programme on the community. A related research question for this phase is the following:

> What are the discernable pattern of change processes and outcomes within and across different areas of intervention?

A survey, using a representative sample of the target community, was conducted. In addition, follow-up meetings (interviews and observations) were organised with individuals who had attended training offered through the intervention.

Phase four of the evaluation looked at the impact domain and considered the following research question:

> To what extent are these changes related to the rationale and aims (theory) of the intervention?

A comparative study of similar activities in the community, in this case a sewing cooperatives, one assisted through the programme and one operating independently of the intervention, was conducted.

The last phase, the generalisation domain, was included to assist the study to look beyond the results of the programme under study. This domain is also about assessing how the programme theory and its effects relate to other models currently operating in

South Africa. In particular, the study will look at another community development programme underway in nine regions in Southern Africa, namely the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) to see if this theory-based approach finds translation beyond this study.

Although the design outlined above provides a linear, 'phased' process for the evaluation, in practice it did not occur as a neat linear process. The domains are interrelated and there was a constant interaction between domain activities to either follow up certain questions or when opportunities presented themselves. The necessary resources to conduct the survey were delayed and the survey had to be postponed several times. Each phase or domain is discussed in more detail below, all the activities are outlined, their selection motivated and contextual decisions provided.

Intervention domain

This phase, as mentioned earlier, concerned itself with the surfacing and construction of the programme theory. The first person to be interviewed was the Director of the Centre for Community Development (CCD). This person provided the historical background to the programme, information about the management structure of the programme, relevant documents related to the programme, and from her perspective, the theoretical underpinnings of the programme. Another set of interviews was conducted with the CCD staff who worked in the Mossel Bay programme. Individual staff members provided details of specific projects within the broader programme as well as insight they had on the programme theory. A third set of interviews was conducted with key individuals in the Mossel Bay community. This included the mayor of the town and four individuals who served on the Coordinating structure of the programme (a policeman, a priest, a councillor and a school principal). Each person interviewed was also asked to diagrammatically construct how s/he saw the programme. Out of this information a tentative programme theory was constructed and during a focus group session individuals (CCD staff) were asked to comment on the veracity of the constructions.

Several strategies for constructing the programme theory were considered including 'concept mapping' as employed by Trochim (1989). Trochim first presented the notion of concept mapping as 'pattern matching' which is a framework that can guide the use of theory within programme evaluation. This researcher contacted William Trochim for clarity on methodological issues related to concept mapping and the availability of the software to implement this strategy. Unfortunately, the software is only made available as part of training sessions offered by Trochim in the United States. This researcher has subsequently found out that it is possible to use Excel, a spreadsheet programme to get similar - but far less visually impressive - results for concept mapping. In the absence of a newer, technologically based, strategy for co-constructing the programme theory, the interview became the principal vehicle for sharing conceptual understanding and constructing 'models' of programme theories. However, an interpreted version of Trochim's 'structured conceptualisation', a process described as a sequence of concrete operationally defined steps which yields a conceptual representation, was used to construct models of CCDs community intervention.

It should be noted that the programme theory construction process in this study was not a collaborative process in true sense of such a process. Individuals (programme implementers) were interviewed separately, they constructed their understandings as individuals within the organisation and they were asked to consider during one collective session the 'theories' that emerged. Not enough time was allocated to this process and it was left to a small volunteer group to construct the programme theory and a model of the CCD community intervention. The community members were also interviewed individually. It was impossible to bring these people together for them to consider a collective sharing.

The interview process also presented another challenge, that of terminology. With both the programme implementers and the community members, the use of the term 'programme theory ' was avoided. Respondents were instead asked questions like, 'What does/did the programme/project hope to achieve?' and 'What elements of the programme/project will/would/can ensure its success?' etc. The problem of terminology is not unique to this study. Hebert and Anderson (1998) in their

application of a ‘theory of change’ approach in a comprehensive community initiative experienced the following:

> First, we believe it is best to avoid using jargon, including the term “theory of change,” when discussing the approach with stakeholders. Specifically, “theory of change” seems to imply a level of abstraction that many stakeholders find objectionable. Rather, we use the term “pathway of change,” which clarifies the importance of articulating elements along the pathway, specifying their sequence and timing, and tracking the actual evolution of the intervention. (p. 129)

Most of the interviews were captured on audio-tapes and transcribed. This is in addition to the notes taken during the interviews. Three interviews could not be recorded because of the noise levels encountered during the interviews. A record of the interview questions relevant to this domain is attached as appendix **A**.

Besides the interview process to gather data about the programme and the programme theory, relevant documents pertaining to the programme were assembled for analysis. The documents include, the programme proposal, project reports, planning documents, minutes of meetings, and progress reports.

Implementation environment domain

The intention for this phase was for this researcher to observe a number of ‘training sessions’ and interview participants and facilitators. The negotiation with the CCD management resulted in an agreement that instead of this researcher alone doing the observations and interviews, that local people should also be trained to assist in this process. The evaluative process in this domain therefore had a dual purpose, (a) that of assessing the implementation and outcomes of aspects of the Community Development Programme in Mossel Bay, (b) as well as building the capacity of individuals within the Mossel Bay community to engage in evaluation/research activities. The CEP Manager in Mossel Bay advertised the positions of evaluators (to be trained by this researcher) in the local newspaper and through community organisations in the area.

Applicants had to have a minimum of matric qualifications and they had to be available during the day for training and evaluation implementation. The ten people who applied were interviewed and six individuals "qualified" in terms of their interests and availability. Of the six individuals, three persons were Xhosa speaking. In terms of gender breakdown, two were females. Very early in the training programme, two males found that they were unable to attend further training sessions, leaving the group at four individuals but still maintaining the two female and three Xhosa speaking breakdown.

Research and evaluation training

The first training session focused on the following themes

- What is research? Evaluation research?
- What have been your encounters with "research"?
- How have you been affected by research?
- What are your attitudes towards research practices?
- Where do we see the use of research findings?
- How do you/we evaluate everyday activities?

All these themes were used to work towards the skills of reflection and observation: As homework exercise the participants had to observe something within their everyday environment and write up their observations.

The second session picked up on the assigned homework and highlighted the concept lenses/frameworks people use to observe practices.

- Observation framework, leading to observation schedules
- Report writing based on observation schedules
- How do we incorporate different perspectives within a given activity?

The third training session dealt with interviews as a means of data collection

- Structured interviews
- Open-ended question interviews
- Free-attitude interviews

The fourth session dealt with the analysis of data/information

- Different kinds of data.
- Primary and secondary sources
- Data analysis processes

The entire training course was underpinned by practice and reflection. Participants generated frameworks/ schedules for observations during workshops. They developed interview schedules for participants within workshops, the trainers facilitating the workshops and individuals in the broader community.

The "field-workers" developed observation schedules for the workshops covering the following items. The items were deemed essential for a successful workshop; These schedules are attached as appendix **B**.

Using the three schedules, one, their own observation of a particular workshop, two an interview with the presenter and three, interviewing three participants, the evaluators were able to triangulate the information gained from these three separate sources.

Six workshops were observed, three facilitators/trainers were interviewed and 16 workshop participants were interviewed. The six workshops ranged from primary and high school staffs (two workshops), the RDP forum (two workshops), the Fishermen's Trust (one workshop) and the Civic Organisation (SANCO), (one workshop).

Outcome domain

The previous phase, the implementation domain focused on the implementation (training) of individual projects. Yin (1984), as mentioned earlier in the outline of the embedded case study, warns about dangers of giving attention only to the subunits

within a programme. The purpose of this domain was to focus on the bigger unit of analysis, to community as a whole. The term 'community' here refers to the target community rather that the entire community of the Mossel Bay area. As a measure of the effect of the CCD work in the Mossel Bay area, on the target community specifically, a survey was conducted at the end of 1999. The primary purpose of the survey was a skills audit. The skills audit was commissioned by the local Economic Development Forum an informal body created by business, local government, and community organisations. The CCD was instrumental in setting up this forum. The Economic Development Forum was particularly interested in the kinds of skills, the spread of skills, and the level of skills present in the households of the lower and lower-middle income sections in the community. This researcher was asked to do the audit and this request presented the ideal opportunity to marry the need to survey the target community without incurring more costs. The skills audit is not dealt with in this report, only the findings related to the work of the CCD.

Population and sampling

The Economic and Development Forum (EDF) had clear ideas about which sections of the community they were interested in. A complete registry of residents in the Mossel Bay area was not available. The Mayor informed the EDF that the 1996 census data had to be purchased from central government and that the municipality decided not to do so. The municipality made an up-to-date map of the area, with plot numbers, available for the research. With the help of EDF members the target community was identified. This excluded the previously classified 'white areas' and some 'mixed' upper-middle income areas. A total of 2560 plot numbers (households) were identified as the population. This population was identified by EDF members as those 'at risk' and most efforts of the CCD were aimed at supporting this section of the broader community, although not exclusively. There was an awareness that this 'geographic' population was not homogenous. The selected areas included townships where the dominant language was either Afrikaans or Xhosa and ethnic or racial classification either Coloured or African.

A sampling frame was constructed by entering the plot numbers onto a list and by mixing the order of sequences in which they appeared on the map. That is, all the plot numbers between 15000 and 16000 (the highest) were entered first, then the numbers below 1000, then numbers between 6000 and 8000, followed by the numbers between 2000 and 3000, until the total of 2650 plot numbers were entered. This strategy was employed as opposed to a stratified random sampling process. The latter would have meant dividing the target population into strata of language and or ethnic group. The pilot process of the survey instrument indicated that although Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking people (Coloured and African) in the main continue to live in separate geographic areas, the informal settlements were very mixed and it was impossible, given the lack of time to assess accurately how mixed they were. In addition, newer low-income areas, houses provided through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), were very mixed in terms of the strata of language and ethnic group. The concern about not having enough numbers for meaningful subgroup analysis was addressed by multiple plotting of sample. The financial resources made available for the survey allowed for a sample size of only 250. This was a limitation if one considers the guidelines cited by both Sarankatos (1998) and Isaac and Michael (1997). They use the table 'for determining sample size from a given population' introduced by R.V. Krejce and D.W. Morgan in 1970. According to this table the sample size, in this case, that would allow for reliable inferences to be made about aspects of the individuals in the entire population, would be 330.

An initial simple random sample was drawn from the sampling frame and plotted on the map. With the help of the four coordinators, during the piloting of the questionnaire, the identified plots were visited. It was discovered that 52 (more than 20%) of the sampled plots were vacant plots, businesses, places of worship (churches), schools or pre-schools or houses under construction. Also that on a number of plots, in the formal and informal housing areas, there was more than one dwelling or living unit. The questionnaire was altered to accommodate the latter phenomenon.

With the help of the EDF members and the four 'survey coordinators', empty plots, churches, sports-fields etc. were identified on the map and excluded from the sampling frame. This exercise reduced the sampling frame to 2365. Half-built houses remained

in the sampling frame and field-workers were instructed to go to the nearest occupied dwelling to the left of the half-built structure. The four survey coordinators referred to above were the same individuals who were trained by this researcher. With their help and through advertising in the local newspaper a total of 25 field-workers were recruited, the majority of whom participated as enumerators during the 1996 national census. Two samples of 250 each were then randomly drawn and plotted on the map. The first sample was selected using the sample selection utility within the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The second sample was drawn in lottery format (bag with numbers) where each of the 2365 plots had an equal chance of being selected. Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that, " if all elements in the population have an equal (or unequal and subsequently weighted) chance of selection, there is an excellent chance that the sample so selected will closely represent the population of all elements" (p. 202). Both samples were similarly spread across the selected geographic area. The first sample was used for the survey.

The group of 25 field-workers and the four coordinators participated in a training session where the purpose of the survey was explained. The training session included aspects of the conduct of the interviewer, appropriate and non-appropriate approaches, item analysis and explanation of concepts. The questionnaire was in English only. The pilot process did not reveal any great difficulty with the language but had to be translated for two Xhosa speaking individuals. Time and the lack of skills did not allow for any translation. The field-workers were given the opportunity to translate the items on the questionnaire and in pairs they practiced administering the questionnaire.

The questionnaire (attached as appendix C) asked for personal information of the person interviewed. That is, gender, date of birth, home language, education level, religious affiliation, employment status, monthly income, number of bedrooms and size of family, as well as whether the person knew of the CCD. If the answer was negative, the interviewer had to ask if anybody else in the house knew of the CCD. The question about whether they had heard of the CCD was based on the assumption that it was impossible for CCD training programmes to have reached all the people in the target community. Other questions about the CCD related to how they heard of the

CCD, how they experienced the quality of the training and what they thought the CCD was doing in the community. A genogram of the household was also requested.

Impact domain

The implementation domain targeted participants during and immediately after the training sessions. The impact domain focused on the more overall effect of the programme. The intention for the impact domain was to look at longer-term attitudinal and behavioural changes of individuals who were exposed to the CCD programme.

- A group of 19 teachers from different schools in the Mossel Bay area participated in the very first set of training sessions offered by the CCD . The primary objective of this initiative was to develop a cadres of local teachers from different schools who could, in the long-term act as trainers and facilitators for teachers and schools in the broader community.

  At the time of this evaluation, it had been almost three years since these teachers received their initial training. Eight of these teachers were interviewed and asked to provide a historical overview of what had happened during the training and since the training. The information provided was organised via a 'path analysis' since all the informants spoke about the same period and initially the same event. A non-narrative mode of discourse analysis was applied because according to Georgakapoulou and Goutsos (1997) "in non-narrative, as speakers or writers, we linguistically express our internal evaluative or externally validated and accepted positions about, among other, problems, circumstances, states, actions and processes (p. 46)." The interest here was less on a mere narrative, that is, what happened, but a non-narrative discourse about what should have or could have been.

- The community development programme responded to the needs expressed by the community. One of the needs was economic empowerment. The CCD had an existing programme focused on women, providing training in personal and interpersonal development as well as business skills. A women's group was started

in the Mossel Bay area, consisting of about 40 unemployed women from diverse backgrounds. The women started their own sewing and crafts business with the help of CCD. This researcher located another group of women in the area that had been involved in their own small business for the past five years. A comparative path analysis was constructed between this, an existing, self-developed and apparently self-sustaining micro-business, and the CCD assisted small business. Both these small businesses involved sewing as a skill and were exclusive to women..

Generalisation domain

The intention of this phase was to bring together the findings of the other domains firstly under the rubric of the programme theory and secondly to compare programme theory outline, its effects and limitations to similar interventions. Chen (1990) proposes an approach that according to him is suitable within a theory-based perspective. He calls this kind of approach to generalisation, the dimension resemblance approach. Chen states that:

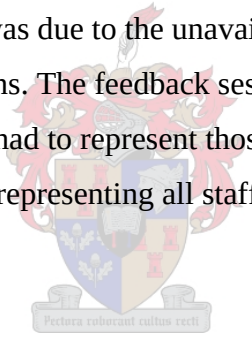
> This approach postulates that the relationships among treatments, program processes, and outcomes are conditioned by the treatment structure and implementation environment. Accordingly, the generalizability of a program evaluation depends on whether its research system shares an essential resemblance to the implementation environment and treatment structure of the generalizing system. The research system has a high generalizability to the generalizing system if there is a high resemblance between the two systems in terms of the dimensions of the implementation environment and the treatment structure (p. 238)

A current initiative by the Kelloggs Foundation, the same funding agency, is the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) that operates under the auspices of the University of Pretoria. The intentions of this initiative are well documented and the documentation will be used as a basis for commentary on issues of generalisation.

Data analysis

Several aspects of the data analysis processes were raised in the previous section. The evaluation dealt with different kinds of data, elicited for different purposes and hence a range of data analysis processes were employed. The underlying purpose in all the data analysis processes was to make sense of the information gathered, be that via the interviews, the survey and observations.

As mentioned earlier, an interpreted version of Trochim's (1999) 'structured conceptualisation', was used to construct models of CCDs community intervention. This process involved focusing the interviewee with the help of specific questions, allowing for brainstorming, structuring the comments, asking for visual representations and involving individuals and groups to comment on consolidated visual representations. A systematic process of theory construction/building was planned but not successfully executed. This was due to the unavailability of some staff members who could not attend joint sessions. The feedback sessions were deemed essential because the constructed theories had to represent those expressed by the staff members. A small group of volunteers, not representing all staff who worked in the Mossel Bay area, assisted in this task.



The primary data analysis strategy used for the non-directive interview data was pattern coding as promoted by Miles and Huberman (1994). This involved looking for categories, themes, or dimensions of information. This approach was also used in the training of field-workers when they assisted with the data analysis process within the implementation domain. The field-workers were required to read and re-read relevant blocks (either from the participants or facilitators) of information. They then had to categorize the information into not less than five themes, depending on the amount of information. These themes, if and when possible, were then further divided into sub-themes. During the training a practical and physical, cut and paste method was employed but during the actual data analysis process, use was made of different colour highlight pens and a word-processor. The more structured interviews about the facilitators' involvement in the Mossel Bay area desired factual information rather than opinions and these responses were summarised and categorised where appropriate.

The survey data were entered into an SPSS data-editing programme and it was not assumed, as Field (2000) warns, that the data were from a normally distributed population. The Kolmogoro-Smirnov (K-S) test, available in the SPSS data analysis programme, on a sample of the variables, proved to be highly significant, indicating that the distributions were not normal. Nevertheless, the data were explored, using frequency tables and histograms. The results of these explorations were used in the context of the community development programme intentions.

The information gathered through the non-narrative constructions by those interviewed was treated as comments on the same themes. Participants were all referring to the same event(s) and of interest here was both the similar and the different reactions to the same event(s). A comparative analysis of the histories, the constitutions, opportunities, successes and status of two seemingly similar entities is also provided.

Summary

This chapter reintroduced the study as a case study focusing on the evaluation of a community development initiative. In the light of the assertion, particularly by Potter (1999), that evaluation practices reflect different methodological, epistemological and ideological assumptions, a detailed discussion on the meta-theoretical choices available to evaluators was provided. This discussion included comments on the paradigmatic nature of decision-making and interpretations of the broad features of the main paradigms in the social sciences. Potter's (1999) categorisation of evaluation research activities within various paradigms highlighted the existence of confusing interpretations of evaluation practices. Guba and Lincoln's (1998) outline of alternative inquiry paradigms were used as a framework to explore the paradigmatic concepts more fully. The ontological positions of the positivists, constructivist, critical theorists and post-positivists were outlined and this fed into a discussion of various interpretations of realism. An integrated presentation of the epistemological dimensions of the inquiry paradigms followed. The expanded views of the epistemological positions of the critical realists and other neo-realists served to convey its synergic relationship with the present study. Drawing on Mouton's (1996)

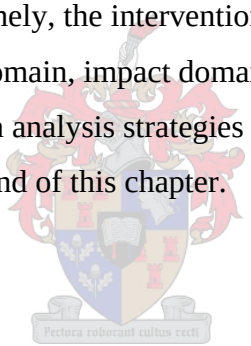
methodological dimension of research, the various levels, namely, methodological paradigms, research methods and research techniques were discussed and the weaknesses as identified by protagonists of respectively the quantitative and qualitative methodologies were presented.

Arguments for methodological pragmatism that favours methodological appropriateness over methodological orthodoxy were forwarded. Added to this, was the warning that a 'mixed-methods' approach, not same as methodological pragmatism, would strengthen the myth that evaluation problems essentially stem from faulty methods rather than from insufficient understanding of assumptions and mechanisms underlying intervention programmes. Shaw's (1999) point about the significant influences of interests, the social location of the evaluator and stakeholders, was highlighted because it was congruent with the thinking in this study. Aspects of critical realism, that resonated with this study were outlined and a list of criteria (Smith, 1994), that indicated the need for the evaluator to consider issues that go beyond that of merely selecting appropriate methods, was provided.

At this point, the shift from methods focus to theory focus was introduced. Theory-driven evaluation was proposed as an alternative to methods-driven evaluations that treated intervention programmes as 'black boxes'. The central assumption of the theory-driven approach, that underlying any social intervention is an explicit or latent 'theory' about how the intervention is meant to change outcomes, was offered as a useful vehicle to evaluate complex social interventions. Support for this argument, in various forms, was provided from a number of sources, including, Chen and Rossi, 1983, Chen 1997; Clarke, 1999; and Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey, 1999. Greene's (1993) critique of the theory-driven approach to evaluation, which centred mainly around the use of existing theory to guide evaluation, was shown to support the value of theory construction, as do the proponents of theory-driven evaluation. The incorporation of 'local theory' a concern raised by Greene (1993), was emphasised using Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey's list of sources of programme theory. A more concrete example of a programme theory, developed by Cole(1999), was provided to illustrate the potential usefulness of programme theory construction. Cole's hypothetical Problem Aetiology Chart (PAC), the Intervention Theory Structuring Guide (ITSG) and the Cause/Effect Theory Structuring Guide (C/ETSG) 'tools' for

programme theory construction, were presented as one way to consider doing problem analysis, programme planning as well as setting measurable objectives for evaluation. However, the unique complexity of comprehensive community initiatives, identified by the Aspen Institute, served as reminder that theory construction was not a simple process. Rogers' (1998) proposal for additional features to assist with explanations in programme causal models added a dynamic angle and more creative ways to look at programme results.

The evaluation design for this study, informed by the previous philosophical and methodological discussions, was then presented. The design borrowed the 'domain' terminology from Chen (1990) but, as was stated, used the term 'domain' as programme categories rather than 'domain theories' as does Chen. The research questions linked to the research domain activities were listed and the activities resorting under each domain, namely, the intervention domain, implementation environment domain, outcome domain, impact domain, and the generalisation domain, were described in detail. The data analysis strategies for each of the data collection procedures were outlined at the end of this chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR

COMMUNITY, DEVELOPMENT, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT

Introduction

The primary source of the programme theory of an intervention is generally accepted to be the programme personnel and other relevant stakeholders. Another source that feeds into the programme theory construction process is previous research and or existing social theories. This source becomes particularly relevant when the programme theory is implicit rather than explicit and when the intervention programme involves multiple stakeholders and implementers. This chapter reviews the literature pertinent to the central concepts used in the intervention programme under study. The explication of these concepts will serve as a theoretical framework to be used in the programme theory construction phase and in the analysis of the evaluation findings.

The programme being assessed in this study is the community development programme of the Centre for Community Development (CCD). Community Development as put forward by the CCD in their 'Community Empowerment Through Education Programme', touches on a number of concepts that demand attention. The CCD (1996) proposal uses a proverb "It takes a village to raise a child" (p. 2), to illustrate the African tradition of whole community involvement in the education of the child. The document cites a number of policies under the apartheid system such as, migrant labour, Group Areas Act, Influx Control as well as rapid urbanisation, which have eroded traditional support systems and the family unit. It also blames the inferior education system for stripping away people's sense of worth and dignity. Community Development is then translated into the establishment of a culture of learning and teaching, the reaffirmation of the role of the family and community and the enhancement of the dignity and self esteem of the individual.

The above synopsis of the CCD's use of the term 'community development' guides the review of the literature in this chapter, which will include the concept 'community' -

its philosophical foundations, operational definitions and its application in various contexts. The review will then look at the concepts; development, community development and empowerment.

The concept 'community' is neither new nor neutral. It has certain historical connotations, which have been influenced by social, political and philosophical experiences and arguments. It is for these reasons that the point of departure for a discussion about the concept community is on the schools of thought that influenced and continue to dominate debates about community.

Communitarianism and individualism

Avineri and de-Shalit (1996) trace the use of the term 'community' back to the Greek philosophy, "to Aristotle's works, through Cebero and the Roman community of law and common interests, St Augustine's community of emotional ties, Thomas Aquinas's idea of community as a body politic, Edmund Burke's well known concept of the community as a partnership ... and the works of Rousseau in France and Hegel in Germany" (p. 1). They maintain that while the significance and meaning of the term may have changed over time from Aristotle to today, Hegel's works and particularly his distinction between *Moralitt* and *Sittlichkeit* have served as inspiration for contemporary communitarians. *Moralitt* refers to the abstract or universal rules of morality and *Sittlichkeit* encompasses ethical principles that are specific to a certain community.

The image of the individual is the starting point for both communitarian and individualist theories. The communitarian view posits that individuals are linked to social attachments which determine the self and therefore individuals are constituted by community. In other words, in order to discuss individuals one must first look at their communities and their social relationships. Avineri and de Shalit (1996) also offer Charles Taylor's 1985 interpretation of community, one in which community constitutes a common culture, a precondition of moral autonomy. They state further that the "communitarian community is more than a mere association; it is a unity in which individuals are members. This membership is neither artificial nor instrumental,

but rather has its own intrinsic value" (p. 4). Taylor (1996), arguing against 'political atomism' - which according to him tries to defend the priority of the individual and his rights over society - submits that individual freedom depends largely on the society and culture where the individual finds himself. And he goes on to say that "this means that the political institutions in which we live may themselves be a crucial part of what is necessary to realize our identity as free beings" (p. 47). This notion is supported by Miller (1996) who adds that the 'community' allows people to regard themselves as 'active subjects' where they can shape their conditions according to their will and needs. Communitarians also prefer a state that promotes politics of the 'common good'. In a communitarian society, according to Kymlicka (1990), "the common good is conceived of as a substantive conception of the good life which defines the community's 'way of life'" (p 206). But Kymlicka also warns that a contrast view between the politics of the 'common good' of the communitarians and the liberal position of 'politics of neutrality' can be misleading since there is a 'common good' present in liberal politics as well.

Rawls (1996) however, in making a case for a liberal view of the individual, emphasises the point that people do not join society voluntarily but are born into it. His description of a 'free' person differs from the communitarian notion of freedom. He states that, "the basic intuitive idea is that, in virtue of what we may call their moral powers, and the powers of reason, thought, and judgement connected with these powers, we say that persons are free" (p. 197).

Marilyn Friedman (1996), writing from a feminist perspective, expresses concern about the legitimacy of moral influences which communities exert over their members. These moral starting points, according to Friedman, are characterised by practices of exclusion and suppression of non-group members, particularly outsiders but also those defined differently in terms of sexual orientation. Avineri and de-Shalt (1996) also refer to the individualist argument that the politics of 'the common good' - the communitarian position - "is likely to result in intolerance and semi- or fully totalitarian regimes" (p. 9). Friedman suggests that the intolerance towards outsiders go hand-in-glove with exploitative practices and traditions towards many of their own members, and she singles out women as a specific target group for exploitation. This

sentiment resonates with Smith (1996) who points to Norman and Phal, 1994 and 1995 respectively, who challenge the intrinsic good of 'community'. They argue "that traditional community was morally and culturally narrow-minded, oppressive to women, outsiders and minorities, less harmonious than painted by nostalgia and inimical to individual rights" (p. 250).

Communitarian theory on the other hand argue that unconstrained individualism can lead to social disorganisation and that there is the danger that the state will respond to this disorganisation with measures of control that will ultimately lead to tyranny. Sites (1998) articulates the dilemma of this dichotomous relationship between the communitarian view and individual rights in the following statement.

> On the one side, excessive reliance on the market, and on political claims based on individual rights, leads to the neglect of social networks that nurture communal support and moral obligation. On the other hand, the development of a welfare state, with its apparatus of services and ethos of administered provision, serves to weaken families and communities by undermining tradition, voluntarism and self-restraint. (p. 58)

The communitarian strategy, according to Sites, is primarily a non-political approach to the revival of a democratic political culture. It promotes cooperation, coordination and consensus building as opposed to more explicitly political approaches to community building that rely on pressure, conflict and demand-driven mechanisms. Khoza (1995) believes that the dichotomous relationship between a communitarian and individual stance is not necessary and he shares his concept of community which has a strong philosophical base in the concept of Ubuntu. Ubuntu incorporates images of supportiveness, cooperation and a sense of solidarity. Khoza (1995) says that Ubuntu "is the basis of a social contract that stems from but transcends the narrow confines of the nuclear family to the extended kinship network, the community" (p.122). According to Khoza, Ubuntu is neither about individualism nor about collectivism. It is regarded as an orientation to life and its essence is captured by the expression: "*Umuntu Ngumintu Ngabantu* - literally translated: A person is a person through other

human beings" (p. 123). Contrary to what Khoza is stating, there are still strong elements of the communitarian view incorporated in the concept of Ubuntu.

Definitions of 'community'

Community has been defined in a number of ways and it is clear that the term conjures up several meanings (Murphy, 1978; Giddens, 1992; Crow and Allan, 1994). Crow and Allan (1994) use Willmot, 1986 and Lee and Newby, 1983 as referents in providing a summary of meanings or definitions for the term community. According to Crow and Allan, 'community' firstly refers to a group of people sharing something in common and it is in this sharing that the different meanings arise. The first shared element could be that of place or territory, hence a 'territorial community' or 'locality'. The second meaning relates to shared characteristics such as common ethnic origin, religion, occupation or hobbies. These networks would be termed 'interest communities'. The 'local social system' (Lee and Newby) can be compared to this definition although it includes the geographical dimension of the 'locality' definition. A third type of community identified is labelled as 'community of attachment' where people are prepared to take up action in defence or in support of their community. This definition includes a shared sense of identity which is also referred to as 'communion'. A broad definition that would include all the elements, i.e. *shared residence, interests,* and *identity* is regarded as an idealized standard for community as these elements often overlap. Within communities there are also boundaries which Crow and Allan (1994) believe serve to distinguish the community from other places and groups. They state that, "communities are defined not only by relations between members, among whom there is similarity, but also by the relations between these 'insiders' and 'outsiders', who are distinguished by their difference and consequent exclusion" (p. 7). Besides the identification within communities through inclusion and exclusion, community identities are also affected by economic changes, e.g. unemployment; geographical movement; ethnicity e.g. race; spatial and social segregation; and urban redevelopment (Crow and Allan).

The definition of 'community' is closely associated with 'identity construction' as discussed by Castells (1997). Castells distinguishes identity from what others have

called roles, and role-sets. Roles would include being a worker, a parent, a union member or a churchgoer. Identity on the other hand is the "construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or related set of cultural attributes, that is /are given priority over other sources of meaning (p. 6)." Castells further maintains that the social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relationships and proposes the following distinction between three forms and origins of identity building.

- *Legitimizing identity:* introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination *vis a vis* social actors, a theme that is at the heart of Sennett's theory of authority and domination, but also fits with various theories of nationalism.
- *Resistance identity:* generated by those actors that are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatised by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society, as Calhoun proposes when explaining the emergence of identity politics.
- *Project identity:* when social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure. This the case, for instance, when feminism moves out of the trenches of resistance of women's identity and women's rights, to challenge patriarchalism, thus the patriarchal family, thus the entire structure of production, reproduction, sexuality, and personality on which societies have been historically based. (p. 8)

The next section also deals with concept 'community' but in the South African context.

'Community' in South Africa

In order to understand the concept 'community' in the current South African context, it is necessary to look at the historical development of the concept. The pre-colonial period in South Africa found people organised around ethnic characteristics. Southern

Africa was composed of a number of relatively consolidated African kingdoms with a smaller number of chiefdoms. A series of interconnected wars and conflicts resulted in massive population dispersals, known as the *difaqane* by the Sotho and as the mfecane by the Nguni (Leat Kneifel & Nurnberger, 1986). Colonialism introduced a new set of social relations. English speaking settlers arrived in the Cape and the Eastern Cape. Dutch speaking migrants from the Cape moved into both the highveld and Natal areas. Large numbers of slaves accompanied the colonisers and settled in their new enforced environment. Molteno (1986) suggests that the slaves maintained a communal bond. "Having been ripped from their homes in West and East Africa and the East Indies, they had already been removed thousands of miles from their physical base, but, so long as they still had each other and their beliefs, their independence was not fully undermined" (p. 45). This independence on the part of the slaves was removed through the instruction of the younger slaves in the rudiments of the Dutch language and the Christian religion and the relationship remained unequal. The Dutch migrants on the other hand had to contend with the might of the British and their quest and fight for identity culminated in the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 where the two Boer republics lost their independence to Britain and were annexed as colonies. "The burghers, ancestors of present- day Afrikaners, occupied the top rungs of a social hierarchy with Khoikhoi and slaves at the bottom. Virtually all the rich and privileged were white landowners or tenant farmers who did no manual labour themselves" (Leatt et al, 1986, p. 69). Leatt et al, emphasise the point that while the Afrikaner did not invent ethnicity and racism in South Africa, and that this existed across the world in various forms, they used it as "ordering principles for a policy which distributes power wealth, and privilege unequally on the basis of race and ethnicity" (p. 69). The consolidation of Afrikaner nationalism culminated in 1948 and a multitude of laws and regulations were created to support Afrikaner ethnic unity and Afrikaner interests. In order to preserve the purity of the Afrikaner population the Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) were promulgated. "The Population Registration Act (1949), the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) and the Group Areas Act (1950) were passed to ensure the separation of races in the 'common area' of South Africa" (Leatt et al, p. 72).

The homeland policy was introduced to ensure 'self-determination' and a mechanism to entrust self-government to black South African 'nations'. Black South Africans were restricted to the homeland areas and their movement controlled by means of the Black Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Document Act (1952), which required them to possess passes - reference books - when travelling or working outside the homeland areas. 'Community' for the Afrikaner became *Volk*, "which may be defined as a distinctive group of people with a common life-style, language, religion and experience" (Leatt at al, p. 76). Separate and unequal Black, Coloured and Indian townships emerged with whites occupying suburbs as well as urban centres. Rural towns 'accommodated' coloured townships and blacks were allocated 'locations'. Locations were supposed to be temporary accommodation for migrant labourers working outside the homeland areas.

Resistance to apartheid legislation took many forms. School boycotts (Lodge, 1986), industrial action (Hartwig and Sharp, 1986), and political formations (Pillay, 1996) became a general feature of the South African social landscape. Political movements, in particular Black movements, were severely repressed during the 1960s, and forced into exile (Pillay, 1996). Pillay further informs that since the 1970s, the democratic trade union movement became the leading social movement. He lists other organisations which came into existence and forged common strategies against the Apartheid system. These organisation were, among others, the black consciousness (BC) South Africa Students Organisation (SASO), the predominantly white left-liberal National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), Civic Associations such as the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) and the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO). The formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983 saw an amalgamation of these forces into what became known as the Mass Democratic Movement (Pillay, 1996). Resistance also brought about turmoil within communities, people differed on strategies, e.g. whether to support structures such as the Black Local Authority or to oppose them. Shubane's (1989) position is clearly stated:

> The myriad forums created by apartheid for the participation of Africans are nothing but attempts to set the sights of people away from the centre of real power. Black Local Authorities are puppet structures par excellence - worse

> than that ‘toy telephone’, the Native Representative Council, which could not transmit any sound. (p. 54)

The church and religious groupings were similarly divided on strategies to follow. Du Toit (1989) felt that the Dutch Reformed Church’s admission in 1986 to its abuse of scripture led to the removal of the biblical foundation of apartheid. This however did not imply a clean break from the ideology of apartheid. Nolan (1989) explained the power of the church. He said that “when the church or church leaders give their support (to a strategy initiated elsewhere), they are legitimating the strategy from the point of view of morality and religion. This is very powerful” (p. 66). Nolan however warned that not all churches and not all Christians shared the objective of a non-racial, democratic society and that some were actively strategising for the maintenance of the status quo. During the 1980s, division, oppression, exploitation and resistance resulted in extreme politicisation of all spheres of life (Badat, 1997). These conditions greatly affected community relations both within and towards other communities, and Badat (1997) states that “up to 1990 the prospect of the emergence of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society seemed distant” (p. 22). The grand apartheid scheme occupied the years of 1948 to 1984, with the establishment of the tricameral parliament which allowed for limited power-sharing (Coleman, 1998). However, this new strategy was accompanied by the development of some of the most repressive laws the world has seen, backed up by powerful security forces. Resistance grew over the years and “reinforced by international rejection, ultimately reached a dimension in the late 1984 to early 1985 that forced the Nationalist government to shift into a different level of strategy that became known as ‘total strategy’” (Coleman, 1998, p. 203). The total strategy involved repressing dissident opinions and actions which culminated in the declaration of the State of Emergency in July 1985. The State of Emergency lasted intermittently until 1990 and involved mass detentions, arrests, bannings, assassinations, abductions, media blackout and vigilantism.

These actions of the state had the opposite effect. Resistance grew, external pressure mounted and the liberation struggle intensified. Coleman (1998) states that “the reform era started to emerge and to head in the direction of the negotiating table. Political organisations were unbanned, political leaders were released from prison and

allowed to return from exile and talks were commenced" (p. 204). The unity-in-action on the part of 'oppressed communities' produced seemingly strong grassroots organisations such as civic, women and youth organisations. A potentially strong 'civil society' was in the making and Saul (1993) presents the view of an activist, Moses Mayekiso, who argued at the time that the civil society, "comprising a whole range of autonomous grassroots organizations such as trade unions, township-based civic associations and rural village committees, women and youth organizations - must be built up, recruited for across party lines and empowered in its own right" (p. 113). The political repression however also accommodated violence which was projected as politically inspired but involved the activities of those with criminal intent. Coleman (1998), referring to two levels of criminal activity, states that:

> The one level is simply criminal activity for personal gain under the smokescreen of political violence; taking advantage of a turbulent situation and perhaps even promoting it; engaging in protection and extortion rackets; and even seeking cover within hostels and other community structures. (p. 220)

Another perspective of the impact of repressive laws on black communities at the time is summed up by Boersema, Barendse, Huggins and van der Merwe (1992):

> Transformed by decades of exploitative relations with the state and business, black 'communities' in South Africa often represent little more than impoverished territorial collectivities inhabited by heterogeneous populations. Communities are torn apart by a sense of mistrust and suspicion between and within groups, manifesting itself in intensified social conflict and physical violence. (p. 27)

The politics of negotiation between 1990 and 1994 reshaped the South African society (Chisholm, 1999). The ideology of 'community control', developed during the resistance era, had to contend with the role of the democratic state, particularly after the first democratic elections during 1994 (Pillay, 1996). The Government of National Unity that emerged after the 1994 elections started the process of creating a new policy environment. Since then, new policies and legislation have been set in place across all

social sectors. The primary legislative text to emerge was the new South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) which provided the broad framework for subsequent legislation. The South African Schools Act (SASA - 1996) was enacted which declared all public schools open to all citizens and promoted school-level governance, this was accompanied by the introduction of a policy framework for a new national education and training system (Abrahams, 1997). A draft White Paper on Social Welfare (1996), with its focus on developmental social welfare was introduced (Sewpaul, 1997). The now abandoned Reconstruction and Development (RDP - 1994) programme which presented itself as an integrated programme, based on the needs of the people and promised to provide the framework for bringing civil society into dialogue with political systems, was supported across the spectrum of the South African society (African National Congress, 1994). The role of civil society organisations in promoting development and in building a democratic culture was affirmed by the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The closure of the RDP office created a vacuum in terms of a strategy that would structure the relations between government and civil society (Patel, 1998). Countless new policies and legislation, addressing every aspect of life in South Africa have been promulgated during the last eight years. Sewpaul (1997) captures the possibilities and challenges facing communities in South Africa:

> The people of South Africa have the potential and opportunity for harmonious co-existence based on political and cultural pluralism and respect for diversity. The option of remaining stuck at levels of political and cultural intolerance that fosters parochialism, discrimination, prejudice and ethnocentrism is also a reality. (p. 1)

This brief historical sketch of the establishment and manifestation of communities in South Africa serves to inform an understanding of the concept ‘community’ particularly in this context. In South Africa one will in all probability find a range of communities as defined earlier, for example, community of ‘territory’, ‘interest’ and ‘attachment’. The permutations have invariably been influenced by the historical factors raised earlier. Some of the Black or African communities define themselves on ethnic grounds, be they Xhosa, Zulu or Sotho. While debate rages in communities formally classified as Cape Coloured, Cape Malay and ‘other’ Coloureds. Those of

East Indian descent lay claim to being Urdu, Hindu or Christian. And the Whites have been clustered around language and religious lines. We have English-speaking Whites as opposed to Afrikaners. But we also have South African Jews, Portuguese, Greeks and a growing population of Whites from the previous USSR territories (Abrahams, 1998). A more recent development in South Africa has been the growth in the Black middle-class and for communities to be formed along class lines. Historically also, one has always had the distinction or the divide between urban and rural communities. The process of community formation or identity construction is still unfolding in South Africa and alliances formed during the Apartheid era are shifting and changing. New alliances may be formed and new communities established based on different needs, intentions and constructed identities. The alternative is also possible, that identities, hence communities, will remain in tact based on historical and cultural bonds, and boundaries can become more solid.

Development

The development studies literature presents a range of historical perspectives of 'development' mainly linked to the rise of capitalism (Rodney, 1972; Cohen, 1983; Leatt et al, 1986; Buller and Wright, 1990; Coetzee and Graaf, 1996). Klerck (1996) states that "for traditional modernisation theorists, the evolution of Western societies is seen as a blueprint or universal programme for development in all societies" (p. 107). Development policies arising from the modernisation thesis were predicated upon economic growth. Their aim was to help less developed countries along the path of 'modernity' through the infusion of Western capital, technology, culture and social institutions. Wright (1990) points out that within the modernisation theory, "societies were assumed to be either inside capitalism, in which case they were labelled modern, or standing outside capitalism, and called traditional" (p. 43). Development in this context would result in economic changes aimed at turning traditional societies into modern societies. The characteristics of development would include modernised technology, incorporation into market relations and urbanisation. Modernisation theory conceptualised industrial development as a relatively simple, linear and unidirectional process (Klerck, 1996). This was problematic and Klerck, (1996) states that:

> the most crippling weakness of modernisation theory is its oversimplified view of social change and the attendant failure (a) to show some recognition of the complexity of human history and of the diverse forms that development has assumed, and (b) to construct adequate notions of both the structural determinations in society and the role of (class) power and struggles in shaping social relations. (p. 108)

The assumptions of the modernisation theory were challenged and this resulted in the construction of 'dependency theories' which set out to demonstrate that the Third World was condemned to a state of perpetual 'underdevelopment' (Vorster, 1987). Frank (1987) posits that while the expansion of mercantile-capitalism led to the development of the metropole through initially colonialism and imperialism and later free-trade and neo-colonialism, "the metropole exploited the periphery in such a way and extent that the metropole became what we call developed while the periphery became what we now call underdeveloped" (p. 487). Rodney (1972) lists a range of categories, including culture, trade, economic production, education and crafts, where, according to him, Europe, meaning colonialism and capitalism, underdeveloped Africa. However, both modernisation theory and dependency theory have been criticised for their inability to explain the developmental dynamics of a particular society. In the South African context, Graaff (1996) delineates three theories, namely dependency theory (DT), modes of production theory (MOP), and new international division of labour theory (NIDL) which were used by various 'neo-Marxist' writers to describe rural development in Southern Africa from the early 1970s into the early 1990s. Graaff (1996) marvels at how for all these Marxist theories, the rural areas remained beneficial to capitalist interests. He criticises this as functionalist thinking (different from functionalist theory) and regards it as a problem because:

> it ignores political considerations, or considers them subordinate to economic ones. To be specific, in South Africa radical writers at a certain period considered the state to be acting only in the interests of capital with its apartheid and later bantustan policies. Racism was seen to have no motive other than economic. (p. 99)

Several competing theories such as `regulation theory' (Klerck, 1996), critical theory (Romm, 1996) and postmodern theory (Leroke, 1996) have been proposed has viable, alternative approaches to the understanding of development. While Klerck (1996) states that "there can be no Grand Theory of Development or Universal Theory of History, nor should we settle for - at the other extreme - an abstracted empiricism devoid of any theory, all unrestricted by both time and space" (p. 111), and Hette (1982) contends that "there can be no fixed and final definition of development, merely suggestions of what development should imply" (p. 17), development has, since the Second World War grown into a huge 'industry'. International structures like the United Nations have been directly involved in development programmes in particularly Third World countries. Special interest agencies linked to the United Nations, such as; the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Education, Science and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) have emerged to address specific issues in development work (Oakley, 1991). An international lender, The World Bank estimated that more than a billion people in Third World countries still live in poverty. During the 1980s, the World Bank introduced anti-poverty mechanisms "by a neoclassical formula that prescribed marketization, privatization, deregulation, and minimal government to cure the ills of Third World economies" (Uphoff, Esman and Krishna, 1998, p. 1). These mechanisms, collectively called 'structural adjustment', have failed to alleviate poverty which, according to Uphoff et al, needs to be resurrected as a prime concern.

The failure of programmes like 'structural adjustment' and growing concern about the impact of sustainable development initiatives on the environment (Redclift, 1991) have seen the emergence of more humanist approaches to development. Slim (1996) makes the point that 'development is more than economics' and supports this assertion with the following statement.

> Economic growth is not a simple engine for human development. Development is not just about having more, but also about being more. It is

> about developing the human person, human society, and the environment. (p. 65)

Slim (1996) suggests that every society has a development problem. The extreme urbanisation, pollution and environmental degradation of the 'north' are as much a concern as the hunger, conflict and poverty of the 'south'. The 'basic needs' and 'monetarism' approaches to development are also regarded by Wright (1990) as mere offshoots of the fundamentally flawed modernisation thesis. An alternative definition of development for Coetzee (1996) should include components that will allow for the personal growth of every individual. Coetzee (1996) proposes a notion of human-centred development which will "include the satisfaction of basic needs in the broader sense of the word: not only food, clothing, shelter and other more concrete needs, but also the right to live a meaningful life" (p. 141). Coetzee further states that aspects of humanness such as - increasing social justice; comprehensive consultation and joint decision-making; alleviation of all forms of suffering; respect for local ecosystems and social and cultural patterns; and the advancement of people through their own endeavours- have been incorporated into recent documents of the World Bank, the International Labour Office, the UN Children's Fund, the World Health Organisation, the UN Environment Programme and UNESCO. A recent policy document of the European Commission (2000) confirms the shift in thinking about community development.

> The overarching objective is to refocus the Community development policy on poverty reduction and on aligning the policy framework in different regions. The method would be to support action that would enable developing countries to fight poverty themselves. (The European Commission, p. 3)

The title of Coetzee's (1987) book, *Development is for People*, resonates with other 'development' titles such as *Putting People First* (Cernea, 1991), *Projects with People* (Oakley, 1991), *Empowerment* (Friedman, 1992) which together promote a 'people-centred' approach to development. Coetzee (1996) calls this 'bottom-up' approach to development a micro foundation for development thinking and provides the following points of departure embraced in this approach;

- People can be more than they are
- Progress is dependent on the continuous affirmation of meaning and the will to create a meaningful life
- The emphasis on the experience of the life-world
- Desirable direction
- Will be grounded in consciousness
- Participation and self-reliance. (pp. 141-145)

In the same book however, Coetzee's co-editor, Graaff (1996) warns against the dangers of micro-theory myopia which rests on a shaky dichotomous foundation of either-or thinking, "privileging one of a pair of opposites: practice-theory; micro-macro; intended-unintended" (p. 255). It is in this micro context of 'development' that the concept intersects with that of 'community'.

Community development

More than twenty years ago Blakely (1979) enunciated that community development, although not as yet a discipline, was certainly a movement. He identified common characteristics in community development that could probably still serve as general underpinnings for the field today. Blakely outlined the characteristics as follows:

- It is an applied behavioral science.
- It is value centred and normative.
- It is optimistic and humanist.
- It is oriented toward social/economic goals and uses anticipatory research strategies.
- It is concerned with the total human climate or milieu.
- It stresses the use of intervention through group and collective situations.
- It is aimed at participation in its broadest sense.
- It is concerned with the development of humanistic inter - and intrapersonal skills.

- It views the community as a holistic and integrated network or system.
- It is concerned with the ongoing management of change. (p. 16)

Blakely made the point that community developers were sometimes accused of 'social engineering'. He believed that this accusation had little substance because change would take place regardless of the presence of community developers. He posed the following questions and provided his interpretation of the role of community developers.

> Are the changes taking place being managed by the community, or is the community managed by the change? The development specialist's role is to provide education, information and resources so that local people can perceive their own needs and manage their destiny in a manner beneficial to themselves. (p. 22)

The 'social engineering' theme is picked up by Cernea (1991), who identifies two models influencing the utilisation of social knowledge in community development. The two models are, the 'enlightenment model' and the 'engineering model. Cernea (1991) is convinced that the two models are erroneously polarised and the differences between the two stressed while their complementarity is overlooked. He considers the enlightenment approach of disseminating sociological knowledge through education as useful but an obviously insufficient strategy. For Cernea (1991), "the enlightenment model postulates the dissemination of findings and conclusions as available in academic social science, but it does not respond to the need of operationalizing social knowledge for action purposes" (p. 29). It is for this reason he believes there should be a complementary relationship between the two models.

A less romanticised view of community development is presented by Kirkwood (1990) who posits that community development is unable to eradicate poverty because it is unable to address the root causes of poverty. Kirkwood shares his critical insights of community development as important conceptual safeguards for community developers. Without wanting to denigrate 'community', Kirkwood (199) warns that a "high level of 'community' is not of itself strong enough to overcome the continuously

functioning mechanisms which generate poverty, disadvantage and degradation" (p. 191). Kirkwood believes that it is important to focus on the psychological needs within communities but he suggests that a 'blame-the-victim' posture can develop if factors such as income, housing, employment, physical environment, and deep-rooted questions about the ownership and control of resources are neglected. It is necessary, according to Kirkwood (1990), to get people to think seriously about their own values and the dominant values of the wider society and in doing so, pursue a strategy that can simultaneously address the wider structure of inequality in the society.

Gittell and Vidal (1998) project a more orderly image of community development in America, one that is non-confrontational. They describe a community development movement that has matured into a fledgling industry that includes more than 2000 community development corporations (CDCs) on the ground and a growing core of intermediaries (e.g. the Local Initiative Support Corporation - LISC) at a national level, which provide financial, technical and political support. The underlying philosophy of this 'movement' is the building of 'social capital' within especially poorer communities. Social capital refers the capacity of the community to act on common interests with the main elements being that of trust and cooperation. Gittel and Vidal (1998) use Robert Putnam's 1993 distinction between two types of social capital;

> -the type that brings closer together people who already know each other (we call this *bonding capital*), and the type that brings together people or groups who previously did not know each other (Putnam called this *bridging capital*) and we adopt his term. (p.15)

Social capital, according to them, consists of networks and norms that enable individuals within communities to act together effectively to address shared objectives. The intentions of social capital building are predicated on certain underlying assumptions of existing practices within communities. These practices work against community improvement, they are, conflict, lack of cooperation and trust among residents, and distrust of outsiders. Critics of this movement, that is, social capital building, point out that this initiative cannot effect real change because it does not engage in political issues (Gittel and Vidal, 1998). This contestation of the 'social

capital building' movement alludes to the emergence of two types of community organising. One that is *confrontational* and associated with struggles for political empowerment.

> The principle underlying these efforts is that certain racial and socioeconomic groups have been systematically discriminated against and that confrontation with vested interests is necessary to overcome discrimination and increase economic and social opportunities. (Gittel and Vidal, 1998, p. 51)

In contrast to this approach, *consensus* organising encourages the building of ties and working relationships with those with resources, power and influence. Consensus organising addresses issues "that are not controversial and will result in minimal disagreement and conflict" (Gittel and Vidal, p. 53).

Christenson (1980), departs from this either-or approach to community development and identifies three themes that according to him can guide community development. Firstly, self-help, where people are assisted to explore alternatives and reach their own decisions. Chistenson contends that this approach "seems to be more of a philosophy than a theory based on research-tested procedures" (p. 44). Secondly, conflict, where people are organised to show that they have power in numbers and that a united voice can change things for the better. This approach has the advantage, according to Christenson (1980) to achieve change in the short-term but it is difficult to sustain. The third approach offered by him is that of technical assistance. This normally involves the building of structures or the development of strategies for broader development.

Another approach to community development in America is in the field of rural development. The North Central Regional Center for Rural Development (NCRCRD) has produced a list of outcomes for 'successful' community development, generated through asking rural communities what they would consider successful community interventions.

1. Increased use of skills, knowledge and ability of local people.

2. Strengthened relationships and communication
3. Improved community initiative, responsibility and adaptability.
4. Sustainable, healthy ecosystems with multiple community benefits.
5. Appropriately diverse and healthy economies.

(NCRCRD, 1999)

Community development efforts in developing countries in Asia and Africa have contributed a great deal to the learning processes of implementing community development programmes. While the majority of these efforts were aimed at the rural poor and hence called rural development rather than community development, the underlying principles remain similar. For Uphoff, Esman and Krishna (1998), the three main objectives for rural development should be firstly, productivity, where rural people are able to utilise those factors of production under their control and others to which they have access so that they can produce combinations of goods and services that are needed by themselves and others.

> Being productive according to market criteria gives one purchasing power and thus the ability to command others' resources, goods, and services. It reduces dependency on charity and the need to 'do without'. Although one should not consider success only in economic terms, there are many reasons, from rural people's perspective, why they value improvements in this domain. (Uphoff et al, p. 197)

The second objective for them is that of 'well-being'. Well-being refers to a wide range of attributes such as good health, linked to good nutrition and freedom from disease. The sense of well-being also relates to knowledge of opportunities, of culture, of religious and other concepts that comes from literacy. Decent housing, access to amenities such as "water, electricity and clothing that permit one's family to live with dignity and reasonable comfort – are also part of this concept of well-being" (Uphoff et al. p. 197).

The third factor that they emphasise is 'empowerment'. This has to do with the degree of control people have over resources, circumstances and the destiny of individuals,

their families and their communities. Increased productivity, according to Uphoff et al, provides security and add to a sense of well-being, but empowerment produces a broader sense of identity and purpose. Through empowerment they are able to resist encroachment on the economic or cultural interests that are valued by the individual and the community and they can promote those interests by means that others are willing to respect.

Uphoff et al also provide four criteria that for them, represent reasonable goals for rural development programmes, as well as standards for evaluation. The four criteria are:

- *Resource mobilization*, with the aim of self-reliance and self-sufficiency;
- *Scaling up and expansion,* so that larger numbers of persons can benefit from technical and organizational innovations;
- *Diversification,* so that organizational capabilities are applied to solving other problems in rural areas; and
- *Continual innovation,* utilizing learning processes and problem-solving strategies, with maturing institutional relationships, both internally and externally, that enable rural people to have more control over their situations and futures. (p. 198)

Campfens (1997) further highlights some of the new models and social experiments in community development evident in Third World regions. The establishment of 'cooperative villages' in Bangladesh took community development beyond initial efforts that emphasised growth in the agricultural sector to meet subsistence needs of a rapidly growing population, to an approach based on cooperative groups that stresses poverty alleviation and integrates a variety of programmes, such as literacy, family planning, nutrition, and primary health-care among others. Of particular interest to this study, the focus being the evaluation of a community development programme through a 'theory-based' lens, is what Campfens identifies as the 'intellectual traditions' underlying community development.

> These traditions range from those preoccupied with societal guidance through the application of scientific knowledge and technical reason (representing a

> basically conservative ideology), to the more radical intellectual traditions of utopianism, anarchism, and historical materialism. (Campfens, 1997, p. 25)

Campfens explains the development and manifestations of these two intellectual tradition (technical and utopian) under the rubric of two organising, or planning and development interests of community development, namely, (a) *Social Mobilisation* and (b) *Social Learning.*

Under the Social Mobilisation interest, the following foci can be found;

- Social Guidance: Social Mobilisation and the Institutionalists
- Oppositional movements: Social Mobilisation and Alternative Development
  - Confrontational Politics
  - Utopianism and Disengagement
  - Voluntary Association, Mutual Aid, and Communitarianism

Under the Social Learning interest, the following intellectual manifestations have been found;

- The American 'expert'
- Findings on Group Dynamics and implications for Professional Role Activity
- Organisational Development and Community Development
- Popular Education and 'Conscientisation' / Liberation Theology and the "Option for the Poor'
- Reconstruction of the Development Expert.

A brief description of each of the above 'intellectual traditions' is provided below to add to the context and conceptual framework that will be used to critically assess the community development programme under study.

(a) Mobilisation/guidance

Mobilisation or guidance refers to how people interpreted, articulated and enacted their understanding of social action. Based on these interpretations, social action manifested itself as reforms, organised development and/or social restructuring towards specific objectives.

Societal guidance: Social mobilisation and the institutionalists

Campfens (1997) dates the emergence of this tradition to the mid-nineteenth century with the ideas of Sant Simon and Auguste Comte who promoted the theory of 'positivism' and notion of the power of 'technical reason'. "The ideas of these two men gave the necessary push for the establishment of the industrial order in Western societies; the same order later found its way into the colonies (now developing nations) of the world" (p. 26). The task of the social scientist was to reform society, using organic laws and guided by comprehensive plans. This intellectual tradition was taken further within economic development doctrines that formed the basis for the modernisation and industrialisation strategies applied later. It is here that community development, as a new 'social technology' gained its prominence with the intention to achieve socio-economic development. "It also drew on the professional disciplines of adult education, agricultural extension, and the group-work and community organization methods of social work" (p. 27). As institutionalists, this tradition focuses on the weaknesses in organisations that undermine the effectiveness of programme delivery. Existing power relations are seldom questioned. Campfens states that "even those NGO practitioners who acknowledge that cooperation and communalism in the social mobilization tradition are the principal underpinnings of community development in the South and the North have come to acknowledge that it is the state which ultimately determines how much change will be tolerated as a result of such programs" (p. 27).

Oppositional movements: Social mobilisation and alternative development

Oppositional movements, as the term implies, came about as a reaction to the social upheaval created by the industrial revolution and to the inhuman conditions created by early capitalist greed. Although different oppositional movements elected to use different strategies, they all asserted the primacy of direct collective action from below. "Their main concerns relate to the moral ordering of human life and to the political practices of social emancipation and human liberation" (Campfens, 1997, p. 28). They also share a political analysis that focuses attention on the suffering under capitalist institutions and a determination to change the established power relations and create more equity. The different strategies used within these movements were informed by different intellectual and motivational principles.

Confrontational politics

The Marxists and neo-Marxists used confrontational politics in a class struggle to create a new economic and social order based on the principles of social justice and equality. They were against a state that actively supported the exploitation of labour and the alienation of human beings. These people were not anti-statist and supported notions of societal guidance, rational planning and technical reasoning as long as the state apparatus were controlled and used in the interest of the poor. The labour union movement, influences by Marxist ideas added to this tradition. This tradition was less about transforming society than about getting a better deal for those living in the margins. Campfens (1997) suggests that more recent oppositional groups that rally around consumption issues and who are not interested in fundamentally transforming society fall into this tradition. He also says that, "such groups are essentially pragmatic, and ready to accommodate themselves to the basic nature and function of capitalist societies" (p. 29).

Politics of disengagement

Robert Owen, a Welsh businessman who lived during the early 1800s is credited for being the most influential writer in the early 'Utopian' tradition. The Utopians rejected the state as the exclusive harbinger of power and control in ordering civil society. In its

place they proposed the setting up of ‘alternative communities’ based on more humanitarian principles that depended on voluntary rather than political action. Owen’s philosophy, that included the belief “in the perfectibility of life on earth, the importance of brotherhood and sisterhood, the need to live in harmony with nature, and the merging of mind and body” (Campfens, 1997, p. 29), inspired the creation of communes, co-operatives, planned communities and the kibbutzim.

> The early Utopians believed that it was possible to establish self-managing, co-operative communities that were apart from the state, faced minimal intrusion by the rest of society, and operated money-free economies based on the exchange of labour. Supposedly, these communities would give free rein to the passionate nature of human beings; and emphasize human development; and liberate their members from the behavioural restrictions bred by competition, rational calculation, and utilitarian notions. (Campfens, 1997, p. 30)

However, there is also the danger that these communities can become closed societies. Instead of emancipating people from the divisive, oppressive and exploitative forces of capitalism, they create other forms of oppression and become totalitarian where individual autonomy, creativity and social innovation are subdued. According to Campfens (1997), the modern co-operative movement such as the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) continue to hold on to principles of “open and voluntary membership; democratic control; limited return in investment; return of surplus to members; co-op education; and co-operation between co-operatives” (p. 31). This movement has however been criticised for being too tolerant of capitalism and of losing sight of a longer-term objective, that of transforming society as a whole.

Politics of free association and mutual aid

The politics of free association and mutual aid also involves the rejection of state authority and control. This movement has as an objective the creation of alternative, self-governing communities based on the principles of mutual aid and self-help. They believed in social reform through grassroots mobilisation and that this can be achieved through peaceful means. The desirable society for them is characterised by the following:

> A revival of the communal traditions of mutualism or fair exchange; a minimalist state; a joining together based on the principle of federation, with lower- and higher-order social groupings; a convergence of the private and public, or the individual and collective; and complete autonomy of each person when entering into voluntary association with others. This conforms with some aspects of contemporary neo-conservatism. (Campfens, 1997, p. 31)

Much of the principles within this movement are drawn from a particular understanding of how primitive societies managed to survive. This movement asserts that it was generally through mutual aid and related communitarian values. Current development efforts focus predominantly on individual-centred forms of helping (Serageldin, 1995), and the spirit and ethics of mutual aid and the tradition of communitarianism receive minimal attention from either the state or human service professionals (Campfens, 1997).

(b) Social learning: knowledge and community action

Social Learning refers specifically to how knowledge, about community development in this instance, had been regarded, viewed and utilised over the years. Campfens (1997) states that "the intellectual tradition of social learning has contributed greatly to the professional practice of CD; it has done so by examining the contradictions between theory and practice and finding the mechanisms to overcome them" (p. 33). He further highlights the point that knowledge or theory is a forever-changing phenomenon, part of a dialectical cycle involving theory and practice. This view, he says is often contrasted with the policy analysis tradition practised by state and institutional planners, "who focus on the processes of rational decision-making, which are more linear and are directed from above and involve the examination of anticipated and unanticipated results" (p. 33). Social practice, for Campfens, is constituted by the following four elements:

- Theories of reality that assist us in understanding the world around us,
- A theory of history,

- A theory of the specific situation,
- And the values that inspire and direct the action.

The American 'expert'

The empiricists in the US were influenced by the pragmatism of the philosopher John Dewey whose writings stressed 'learning by doing'. Dewey promoted the primacy of 'experience' as a learning process. The quality of the experience would determine the extent of the learning and "wholly independent of desire or intent, every experience lives on in further experiences" (Dewey, 1938, p. 27). Dewey further identified the principal actors as the 'experts' (trained technicians) who would provide the appropriate experiences within communities based scientific inquiries. However, this position contradicted his other notion that democracy should begin with the community and more specifically the local neighbourhood. This contradiction lead Campfens (1997) to state that, " His Great Utopia … was not likely to be realized as long as the experts and professional continued to manipulate the neighbours according to their notions of development and their plans" (p. 34).

Group dynamics and implications for professional role activity

The introduction of 'action research' as a process to address social change by Kurt Lewin and his associates catapulted the development field into a new phase of finally being able to or attempt to study groups and understand group dynamics. The underlying argument within the action research movement was that groups needed to be given the opportunity to confront their social environments and allowed to reconstruct their attitudes and behaviour so that they become the vehicles of problem-solving. These insights had profound implications for development practitioners, particularly those convinced of their 'expert' role. The new insight involved development practitioners becoming 'change agents' with roles of 'enablers', 'facilitators of change', 'guides' or 'trainers' of groups rather than experts.

Organisational development and community development

Organisational development as a new social technology emerged as a result of ongoing research in group dynamics. This new technology was quickly embraced by industry and used to analyse companies, build staff capacity and reorganise for strategic purposes. Organisational development also found its way into community development but was found to be limited and used mainly at the level of providers rather than directly with communities. Campfens (1997) suggests that "OD tools are perhaps of greatest benefit to managers interested in 'downsizing' their operations in a neoconservative environment. This is evident from the legions of consultants who are now contracted by corporations … Clearly, OD has little to do with community-focused development" (p. 36). Attempts have been made to make OD more relevant and useful for community development activities and to confront OD's main weakness, that of not addressing the differences in people's access to the sources of social power.

Popular Education and Conscientisation / Liberation Theology and the 'Option for the poor'.

Paulo Freire's literature on popular education introduced and popularised the concept of conscientisation. Freire (1970) explains his understanding of conscientisation as follows:

> Behaviourism also fails to comprehend the dialectic of men-world relationships. Under the form called mechanistic behaviourism, men are negated because they are seen as machines. The second form, logical behaviourism, also negates men, since it affirms that men's consciousness is 'merely and abstraction'. The process of 'conscientization' cannot be founded upon any of these defective explanations of man-world relationships. Conscientization is viable only because men's consciousness, although conditioned, can recognize that it is conditioned. This 'critical' dimension of consciousness accounts for the goals men assign to their transforming acts upon the world. (p. 54)

Freire's (1973) central position is that human beings are able to reflect and to 'problematise' as opposed to just 'problem-solve' and that the role of reflection is to react to the action in order to reveal its objectives, its means, and its efficacy. He laid the foundation for a political pedagogy that became the basis for particularly adult education. The principles of popular education forced community practitioners to reflect on top-down, autocratic practices and the extent to which they are guilty of those.

Liberation theology shares many of the principles with popular education and has been summarized around the following four themes:

- If there is to be effective action, the poor and oppressed must be listened to, and the world must be seen through their eyes.
- Knowledge of the truth and awareness of conditions is not in itself sufficient to acquire a new vision. Material and cultural conditions must be created that will enable the poor to gain liberty and arrive at the truth.
- There will be liberation only when the poor assume their own liberation. The traditional work of charity and assistance to the poor that treats them as objects is not acceptable. The poor must be treated as subjects of their own transformation and participate actively in the formulation and execution of development initiatives.
- The poor, not science or technology, should be regarded as the point of departure in development and liberation. This is not to minimize the importance of science and technology but rather to emphasize the correct priority. (Camfens, 1997, p. 38)

Reconstruction of the development expert

As mentioned earlier, proponents of popular education as well as those involved in participatory action research and liberation theology have contributed to the redefining of the 'development expert'. They saw the need for capacity building within communities so as to avoid communities becoming dependent on outside or foreign experts. There was also a concern with the over-emphasis of Western science and

technology and a modernist framework for defining development. “They joined other critics by calling for a ‘development expert’ who can be open and listen thoughtfully to others; and who can cut loose from the universalising theories, conceptual frameworks (dominated by modernist, binary, and patriarchal thought structures of Western culture), and rational discourses on basic needs to allow different voices and experiences to be heard” (Campfens, 1997, p. 39).

Models for promoting community change: approaches to community development

The aforementioned have indicated varied understandings of community, of development, and of community development based on the whole on different intellectual, philosophical and ideological conceptions of the issues under discussion. Most of the above reflections were at an ‘ideas’ or ‘conceptual’ level. How these thoughts and theoretical positions can and are being used will further illuminate and embroider the vast theoretical and practical landscapes of community development. Homan (1994) provides a useful summary of ‘some’ approaches. These approaches are offered against the background that there is no one standard or typical ‘community’ in which these models can be seen to operate.

Homan (1994) first presents three models originally described by Jack Rothman, they are; (1) locality development, (2) social planning, and (3) social action. Locality development emphasises economic and social progress and put great store in broad based community involvement where a wide range of people are part of the process of determining their needs and they get involved in helping themselves.

The social planning approach relies on a more deliberate and rational process, almost a technical response to problem solving. There is often a dependency on expert planners to “guide changes through a maze of bureaucratic barriers with the intention of establishing, arranging, and delivering goods and services to people who need them” (Homan, p. 29). The social action approach can focus on the redistribution of power or the reallocation of resources or changes in community decision-making. The point of departure here is the existence of a disadvantaged or oppressed section of the

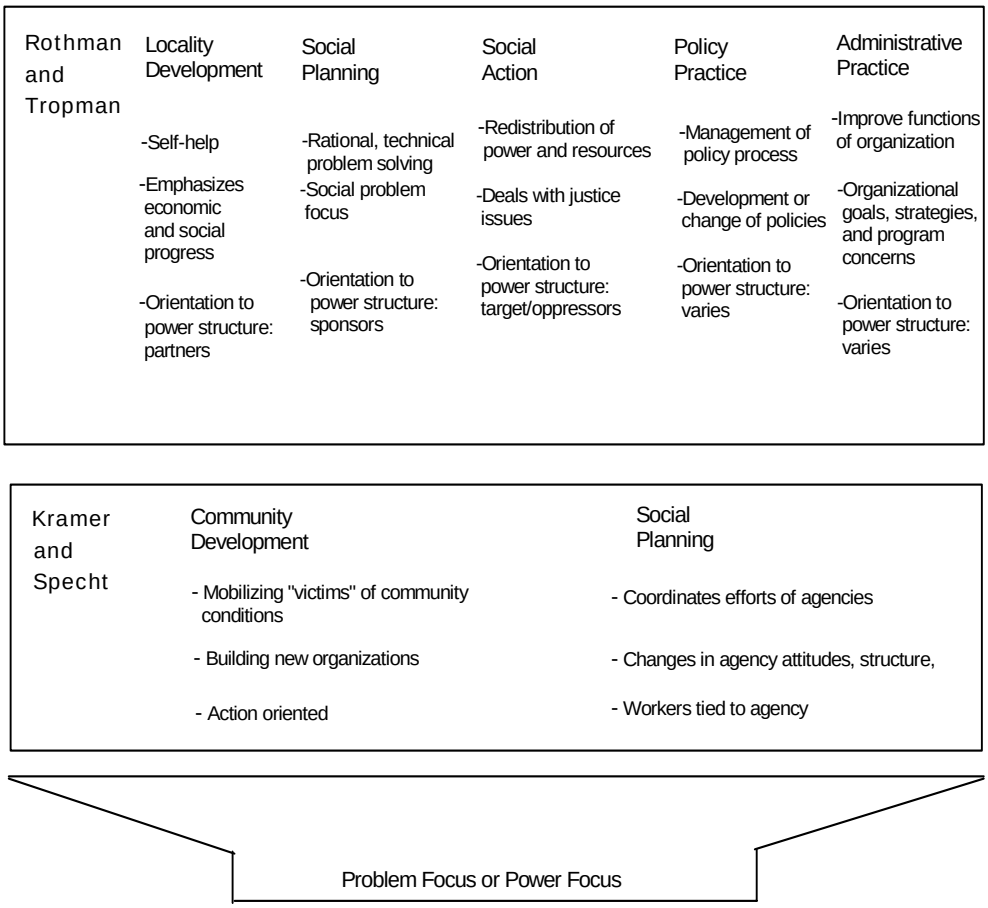
community that need to be organised in order to make adequate demands on the larger community.

Homan also offers two approaches, described by Rothman and Tropman as (1) policy practice and (2) administrative practice. The policy practice approach "involves identifying, analysing, refining or developing, and implementing policies that guide the operations of government and non-government organizations that have an impact on individuals, groups and communities" (p. 29). The administrative approach involves assessing community needs, the design of relevant programmes and facilitating consensus among constituents. The administrator acts as gatekeeper on behalf of the community and guides the processes of other service providers so that they can achieve their objectives.

Finally, Homan (1994) offers two approaches to community organising, described by Kramer and Specht as (1) community development and (2) social planning. Community development strategies involve working directly with the people who experience the problems, and similar to the social action described earlier, the community take action themselves. Their social planning activities are similar to Rothman's namely, designed to change the practices of community agencies. A major emphasis in their description of this kind of approach is "that the action system is composed of people who are legally and structurally tied to community agencies and organizations, and their behaviour is regulated and guided by these commitments" (p. 31). These two approaches are also influenced by an additional factor, which is whether they are issue-based or area-based.

A schematic representation of these approaches or models is provided below.

Figure 4.1: Models for community change



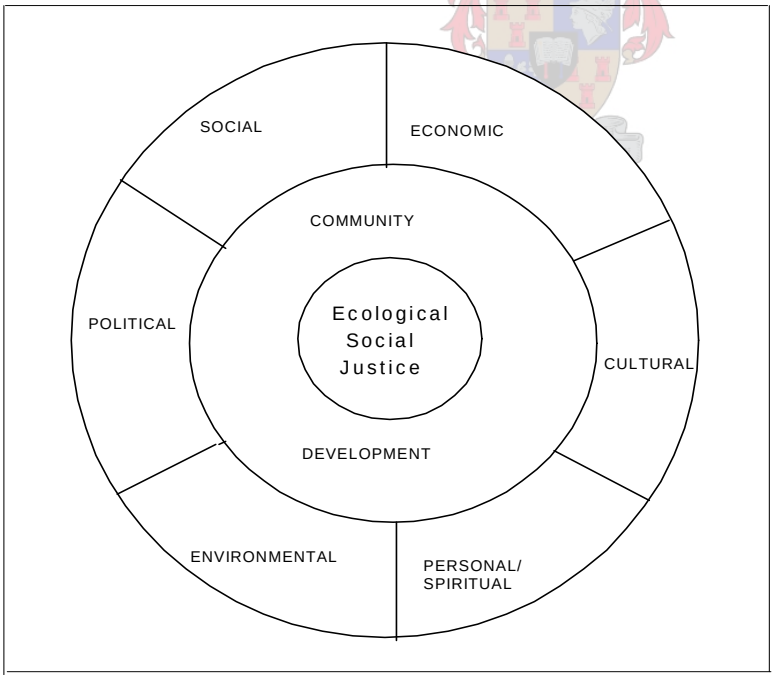
Adapted: Homan, 1994, p. 30

Other approaches to community development that have obvious congruence with aspects of the framework above are; (1) The *Community work* approach that has been seen as the standard approach within the Social work profession with the aim of providing support and assistance to people who generally seek out their help. (Griffiths, 1974). Griffiths also describes (2) *Urban Renewal* as a community development approach where groups of people are organised through their own particular interests. These interests groups are supported so that they develop a sense of pride and ownership with their initiatives. The (3) *Adult Education* approach is also considered a community development strategy. Adult education programmes will include literacy programmes, job training, and education for improved quality of life

through programmes on health, family planning, parenting etc. The ultimate objective with this approach is the improvement in the quality of life within communities and the education programmes are the vehicles used to that end. The (4) *Idealist or Political Activist* approach targets social change within an environment where injustice has occurred and where those in positions of power are disadvantaging certain groups. Stark and obvious inequality, coupled with disillusionment serves as fertile ground for this kind of approach and activists mobilise people on a voluntary basis.

Ife (1999) identifies six dimensions of community development that according to him are critically important. These dimensions interact with each other, while some are more fundamental than others. The six dimensions are; social development, economic development, political development, cultural development, environmental development and personal/spiritual development. Schematically, Ife presents the dimensions as follows:

Figure: 4. 2: Integrated community development



Ife, (1999), p. 132

The above paints a realistic picture of the complex nature of community development. This complexity has forced most community development interventions to become equally complex. Bradshaw (2000) warns against complex interventions. He feels that:

> There are many problems associated with complexity. First, by developing projects that accomplish goals in a highly complex system, attention is diverted from the underlying source of the complexity in the first place. (Bradshaw, 2000, p. 143)

This point is very pertinent for this study, which considers the evaluation of a community development programme in South Africa during a period of political transition.

Community development in South Africa

Community development as conceptualised and implemented internationally did not translate automatically into practice in South Africa. Government scepticism was the main reason why, during community development's popular period overseas, it was not favoured in South Africa.

> It (*community development)* really only made headway in evangelical missionary circles and in the Black organization with a Black consciousness viewpoint. Only during the seventies did the Government start to consider the possibilities of community development, and by the beginning of this decade gave its official blessing. (Swanepoel, 1985, p. 360)

The scant attention given to community development during the mid-1980s, by the then Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, and the Chief Directorate Population Development, was also met with scepticism and mistrust. When successful community development was carried out, it was done on an isolated, fragmented and small scale, most often by NGOs (de Beer and Swanepoel, 1998). Both urban and rural development-manifestations were influenced by politically and ideologically motivated polices

which determined, and in many ways undermined community development in South Africa. Decisions about the designs of projects were often not in the hands of local communities, even though the projects were implemented in local communities. Communities never really took a keen interest in ensuring the success of projects, which they saw as government projects (Monaheng, 2000). The failure on the part of the government departments to decentralise decision-making power, violated the fundamental principle that people should define their own needs.

While there was pressure on the government to get involved in community development, they soon realised that it was impossible for a national government to plan a nation-wide community development programme, to the extent that this would involve people at grassroots level. This would still be top-down planning, instead, as Swanepoel (1985) intimates, the government should create the right atmosphere for community development to take place in communities and involve relevant partners to assist in the process. Partners would include local government, religious organisations, community based organisations and non-government organisations. The eighties in South Africa also witnessed the proliferation of non-government agencies supported mainly by external funding. These agencies set up as opposition groups to the then Apartheid government were centred on projects that purportedly addressed unmet needs within communities. Areas of involvement included the provision of early childhood education, housing, water, primary health care or services for the disabled. This phenomenon allowed for more grassroots participation and development projects sprouted across the country. However, the sustainability of these projects has been questioned because when the financial support dried up during the nineties, most of these agencies folded and so did the projects. There was also a question about the amount of financial resources that went to the projects in relation to the amounts that were used to support the existence of the agencies. However, these activities and others, saw the growth of development strategies and a more robust debate about the role of government, the level of participation of the affected people and issues of sustainability.

Swanepoel (1997) articulates several principles that should underlie all community development interventions. The principles include that of human orientation,

participation, empowerment, ownership, release, learning, adaptiveness and simplicity. Swanepoel's objectives of strengthening organisations, building institutions, establishing linkages (internal and external), developing leadership and other skills, as well as working towards general life improvement locate his brand of community development within a consensus organising paradigm as opposed to a confrontational framework. Swanepoel draws extensively on Korten's (1990) people-centred development approach, which stresses the participation of all concerned and affected people in the process of development.

Taylor (1998) on the other hand emphasises social transformation as the core objective for development. He outlines three phases within a development model that could, if properly understood, correctly implemented, and creatively adhered to, create the environment necessary for *ideal unimpeded* development. The first phase is characterised by *dependence* and this is where skills are shared and community members undergo a learning process, learning amount themselves and building their capacities. The second phase, according to Taylor, is characterised by *independence*, where there is a change in the relationship and where community members act independently, testing their skills and becoming more self-reliant. The third phase, characterised by *inter-dependence*, signals a fundamental shift in the relationship and the community members act in collaboration with others in order to achieve mutual objectives. For Taylor, the major challenge facing the development sector in South Africa is that of increasing independence.

Another central theme that emerges from the more recent literature on community development, in South Africa, and elsewhere, is that of 'empowerment'. Empowerment is one of the principles enunciated by Swanepoel (1997) and Tlakula (1998) shares experiences of a group in the Northern Province, (now called Limpopo Province), which was established for "preventive health care, exchange of knowledge and skills and emancipation of rural women through empowerment" (p. 157). A closer look at the concept of empowerment follows because it appears as a central thrust of the community development programme of the Centre for Community Development – the programme under study.

Empowerment

The RDP (1994) document refers indirectly to the intention of the empowerment of women:

> The role of women within the RDP requires particular emphasis. Women are the majority of the poor in South Africa. Mechanisms to address the disempowerment of women and boost their role within the development process and economy must be implemented. The RDP must recognise and address existing gender inequalities as they affect access to jobs, land, housing, etc. (p. 17)

Sewpaul (1997) argues for a true empowerment-based approach to development, that will help to threaten those in social management positions who possess neither the attitudes, nor skills to pursue genuine development. Bell (1997) warns that development is not necessarily empowering and that empowerment does not necessarily lead to development but suggests that "the process of community empowerment requires both, to go with the immediate needs of communities and funders while at the same time empowering both to reflect and question *what*, *why* and *how* they are doing, to make the process of community development a more powerful one" (p. 44). The concept 'empowerment', according to Wright (1990), is entering the rhetoric of community development workers in Britain. This approach makes power a central issue. The idea is that the development of human potential is inextricably wound up within the distribution of power between competing interests at a local and national level. She elaborates further that:

> In this approach, individuals who are poor and of low self esteem are conceptualised as not only silent and invisible, but also as made silent and made invisible by systems which place them in relations of economic and political dependency. (p. 58)

Hughes (1987) offers a different interpretation of 'empowerment' within community development. He cites Brickman et al, 1982 who developed a typology of helping

models, “which distinguishes between attributions of responsibility for a problem [who is to blame for a past event] and attribution of responsibility for a solution [who is to control future events]” (p. 396). The first helping model is the *moral* model which holds people responsible for both the problems and the solutions - people need only to be motivated enough to improve their lot. The second model is the *enlightenment* model, which holds people responsible for the problems but not the solutions. People are regarded as unable or unwilling to provide solutions and they need to be disciplined. The *medical* model is the third provided by Hughes which holds people neither responsible for the problems, nor the solutions. The fourth and last model is the *compensatory* model, which holds people responsible for the solutions but not the problems. Here, people need to be empowered to address the problems. Hughes’ analysis of the selection of appropriate helping model reveals that since the moral and enlightenment models blame the victims, they are rarely selected and the medical and compensatory models make different assumptions about who should be responsible for the solution. The medical model assumes that experts are best suited to provide effective solutions, while the compensatory model suggests empowerment as a strategy for providing help in community development.

Hughes (1987) takes empowerment to be the attempt to increase the possibilities for people to control their own lives and says that empowerment strategies rest on several assumptions. According to Hughes, empowerment firstly assumes that all individuals, groups and communities have some strengths and as recipients of help they are not totally dysfunctional - a non-deficit view of communities. Empowerment also assumes that communities have valid and valuable knowledge and insight of their own situations. Their views should be respected and their knowledge used. A third assumption shared by Hughes is that the diversity within communities is a ‘strength’. Diverse solutions can emerge within this complex environment. The last two assumptions shared by Hughes are that empowerment happens more effectively in smaller, more intimate units and that empowerment can happen at several levels, that is, personal, interpersonal or community-wide.

Embedded in the concept empowerment is the subject of power. According to Wouters (1993), whenever at least two people are related to some intended action, the

notion of power comes into play; this implies that power is partly psychological and partly social. Wouters (1993) adds that:

> It (power) is also always instrumental because it exists in the mediation of events, and it can be thought of only in terms of its effects. Thus the three attributes of power are social, psychological, and the instrumental. (p. 131)

The instrumental character of power is encapsulated in the idea of power as a means, indicating that power serves as a means to a purpose or action that is carried out. The power, present in social structures and organisations, is invisible but according to Wouters (1993), once these structures are created, "they can come to life and seem capable of existing on their own" (p. 131). For Wouters, it is the unquestioning legitimacy of social structures, which gives them their power to enable and dis-enable. An example of this is people's acceptance of the principle of hierarchy. He further asserts that "there are rules and procedures by which new individuals replace the old ones and these rules distinguish one political system from another" (p.131). Nyberg (1981) puts forward two aspects of the psychological aspects of power. One aspect is having an intention, or a plan and the other is the consent required for the plan to be carried out. In this regard he writes:

> The power of a governing order is great, but that power is grounded in majority consent that may be withdrawn, if well enough organised, at any time. In this way one can argue that the withdrawal of consent is a force of control over power. It is the power over power. But the nature of consent is such that it is often given without thinking much about it. (p. 542)

Friedman (1992) refers to this power over power as 'social power' that is located within civil society and stands in a contrasting position to that of state, economic and political power. According to Friedman, each form of power depends on certain resources it can access by collective means. In this regard he writes the following:

> The state has the law on its side and a monopoly over the legitimate use of violence. Corporations have substantial access to financial resources, the

> power to shift capital from one place to another, and the power to hire and fire. The political community - parties, social movements, political action committees - has the power to vote, to stage street demonstrations and rallies, and to pressure politicians through lobbying . The power of civil society, finally, is guaged by the differential access of households to the bases of social power. (p. 67)

Friedman (1992) identifies eight bases of social power, which are the means of a household economy to access and exercise their social power. The bases of social power are listed below with abbreviated explanations of each concept.

- Defensible life space; this extends beyond the space called home to the immediate neighbourhood where socializing and other life-supporting activities take place.
- Surplus time; this is the time available to the household economy over and above the time necessary for gaining a subsistence livelihood.
- Knowledge and skills; this refers to both the educational levels and the mastery of specific skills by members of the household economy.
- Appropriate information; without the continuous access to relevant information, knowledge and skills are virtually useless as a resource for self-development.
- Social organization; refers to both formal and informal organisations to which household members may belong, including churches, sports clubs etc.
- Social networks; households with extensive horizontal networks among family, friends, and neighbours have a larger space of manoeuvre than households without them.
- Instruments of work and livelihood; these are tools of household production: healthy bodies, access to water and land, domestic appliances etc.
- Financial resources; these include the net monetary income of households as well as formal and informal credit arrangements. (pp. 67-69)

However, the absence of social power and personal power often has to do with individual choices and it is up to the individual to engage in a process to address the absence or lack of power. This involves engaging in a process of change, a process of

empowerment. Prochaska and DiClemente (1994) provide a model that deals with four stages of change in what they call their transtheoretical approach. The first stage is the **precontemplation stage**, characterised by individuals and people being unaware of the need to change and some of them may actively resist change. Here people tend to be defensive and have feelings of being coerced into changing. The second stage is the **contemplation stage** where people are aware that a problem exists, and they are struggling to understand the problem (issue), its causes and its cures. There is an eagerness to talk but they are slow to take action, until greater understanding is achieved. The further into the contemplation stage they are the less depressed they tend to be over loss of self-esteem, since they have admitted to themselves that a problem exists. The third stage, the **action stage**, is where people change their overt behaviour and the environmental conditions that affect their behaviour. Those who are ready tend to expend the most behavioural energy during this stage, but such enthusiasm for action can only last for some limited period of time. The last stage is referred to as the **maintenance stage** where people work to continue the gains attained during action and to prevent relapse to their more troubled level of functioning. Maintenance is therefore not an absence of change but a continuance of change. Some people, according to Prochaska and DiClemente, move smoothly from contemplation to maintenance and to new way of life without any complications. Most however, follow a more complicated course of change. It is possible to get stuck at any stage of change. Some people can contemplate a major life change without ever finding the courage to make a commitment to action. Then there are those who keep taking action over and over again but never obtain freedom from their problem(s). Prochaska and DiClemente's models or stages were developed within the psychological therapy framework. However the stages, as outlined, are useful in the present context because they provide some labels for assessing the process of change with individuals.

Riger (1993) questions psychology's emphasis on the individual's sense of empowerment. In her article, 'What's wrong with Empowerment', she asserts that "if the focus of enquiry becomes not actual power but rather the *sense* of empowerment, then the political is made personal and, ironically, the status quo may be supported" (p.281). This kind of intervention - creating a sense of empowerment, according to Riger, also leads to an illusion of power without affecting the actual distribution of

power. Her guarded approach and even critical treatment of the concept empowerment is based on her understanding that "the underlying assumption of empowerment is that of conflict rather than cooperation among groups and individuals, control rather than communion" (p. 285). Individuals who are unable to make choices, that is, they lack power and status, rely on community networks and community goals to survive. As soon as persons obtain the necessary resources that enable them to make choices and act autonomously, they relinquish their community networks. Conditions that foster greater cohesiveness in community may be the opposite of those conditions, which foster empowerment. Riger (1993) cites Panzetta, 1973, who asserts that "community may exist most cohesively when people experience a shared externally generated fate such as a crisis or disaster, or a condition or poverty or oppression" (p. 288). When this condition disappears, people may experience a sense of alienation and a sense of separateness. Becoming empowered may reduce the individual's dependency on the community and this, for Riger (1993) is the paradox inherent in empowerment. Riger (1993) concludes her treatment of the concept empowerment by asking the following questions:

> Does empowerment of disenfranchised people and groups simultaneously bring about a greater sense of community and strengthen the ties that hold our society together, or does it promote certain individuals or groups at the expense of others, increasing competitiveness and lack of cohesion? (p. 290)

It is crucial that this question enters the development discourse in South Africa because the concept of 'empowerment' is used widely and often in a way that conceals its meaning and intent rather than being clear and open to a common understanding.

Summary

In this chapter the concepts of community, development, community development and empowerment were discussed in terms of, and in relation to what a wide and diverse selection of sources have to share about these concepts. This chapter covered the philosophical arguments that influence the conception of community, contemporary definitions of community and the historical and current factors determining

communities in South Africa. A brief overview of development and its many interpretations and a detailed treatise of community development were offered. This was followed by a discussion on community development in South Africa and a presentation of various arguments about empowerment.

The purpose of this review was also to construct a theoretical reference framework to be used particularly in the analysis of the findings of the evaluation of the community development programme. This purpose will become evident in the following chapters as it also influenced the choice and emphasis of concepts dealt within the review. Other concepts, such as ‘ownership’, ‘participation’ and ‘sustainability’ were mentioned as either part of enunciated principles and/or strategic orientations and they are probably no less important than the ones dealt with here. The next chapter deals with the findings of the evaluation of the community development programme implemented by the Centre for Community Development (CCD).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, EVALUATION RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter firstly provides more information about the programme context, that is Mossel Bay, where the community development programme was implemented. Then it discusses briefly how the intervention was initiated. This is followed by an outline of the community development programme as envisaged, planned and implemented by the Centre for Community Development (CCD). The outline includes the initial objectives set by the organisation and the envisaged activities to attain these objectives. The management of the intervention programme is also explained and a list of actual training sessions conducted in the community provided.

The evaluation findings are presented in the domain phases as articulated earlier in the study. For the intervention domain, the assumptions about the Mossel Bay community, held by CCD staff members and participants, are listed. The interview data, representing the views of the CCD management, CCD staff and participants are then presented under appropriate headings. All the development models generated by the CCD management and staff are provided in the form of graphics. These are followed by explanatory comments from the respondents. The findings in the second phase, the implementation domain, are presented in terms of the data obtained from the essays written by fieldworkers and an analysis of findings of the data they collected from their observations and interviews. The next phase, the outcome domain, involves the results of the survey that was conducted. The results are presented and discussed. The impact domain and the generalisation domain results are also presented and briefly discussed.

The programme context

Mossel Bay is located in the Southern Cape region of the Western Cape in South Africa. It's very unique feature, that of being surrounded by the sea on three sides, endears it to visitors from within and outside South Africa. It is also the start of the famous garden route along the east coast of South Africa and well known for being the first 'post office' in the country, used by early seafaring explorers. This coastal hamlet has a fair amount of industry and a historical dependence on the fishing industry for the provision of income. The fishing industry has diminished over the last seventeen years and is currently monopolised by big fishing corporations. The region received a major boost during 1987 when Mossgas[1], a state-subsidised petro-chemical plant was erected on the outskirts of the town. This scheme, the conversion of earth-gasses to fuel, attracted thousands of workers from across South Africa. Many of the unskilled, Black labourers, who worked on the initial construction phase of the plant and who were unable to find work elsewhere afterwards, have settled in the community. The plant, at present, employs mainly technically skilled workers but offers seasonal employment during cleaning up operations.

A study of the perceived impact of Mossgas on the Mossel Bay community was conducted during 1989 and published in1990. The study provides comparative analysis of perceptions between comments elicited during 1987 and perceptions shared during 1989. Responses about the perceived positive influence the Mossgas Project was on the Mossel Bay/Hartenbosch area: by population group, 1987 and 1989. People were responding to the question; "Was Mossgas having a positive influence on the lives of people in Mossel Bay"?

[1] Mossgas recently, 2002, became Petrochem.

Table 5.1: Perceptions of Mossgas

Population group	WHITE			COLOURED			BLACK			TOTAL	
		1989	1987		1989	1987		1989	1987	1989	
ANSWER	No	%	%	No	%	%	No	%	%	No	%
Yes	233	76.4	87.1	244	61.2	69.7	30	52.6	59.3	507	66.6
Possibly	24	7.9	4.7	34	8.5	7.9	11	19.3	11.9	69	9.1
No	34	11.1	3.2	41	10.3	3.3	4	7.0	6.8	79	10.4
No comment	14	4.6	5.0	80	20.1	19.1	12	21.1	22.0	106	13.9
TOTAL	305	100	100%	399	100	100%	57	100	100%	761	100 %

(Fabricius, 1990, p. 32 – position of dates in the original text)

Fabricus (1990) pointed out that the majority of respondents indicated that the Mossgas project was having a positive influence on the Mossel Bay area. However, the percentages of respondents who indicated that the project had had a positive effect in the area declined when compared to the 1987 figure, while the percentage of those who felt that it had had no positive effect, increased. These findings are significant because the establishment of Mossgas in this region introduced expectations of continued economic prosperity. Instead, the racial demographics were drastically altered, unemployment increased dramatically and social-ills such child abuse, substance abuse and public violence became more prevalent (Van der Walt, 1991).

The Southern Cape region where this community is located has a population, classified as *not economically active,* of 54%. The Black communities constitute approximately 80% of that total. “Black communities” in this context refer to those who have been formerly classified as ‘Coloured’ and ‘African’. 20% (highest), of those who are economically active are in the service sector. Only 10% are involved in the manufacturing sector, 13% in the agriculture and fishing sector and 3% in the transport sector (Meintjies, Rousseau, and Viljoen, 1995). The high involvement in the service sector relates to the provision of seasonal employment during holiday periods when both national and international tourists are attracted to the area.

The shift in the racial composition of the broader Mossel Bay community is best illustrated by the comparative population statistics between 1987 and 1999. Two major events account for the changes, namely, the establishment of Mossgas and the abolition of the Influx Control Legislation (1953), which prohibited 'Africans' from settling in the Western Cape.

Table 5. 2: Mossel Bay population composition

YEAR	WHITE	COLOURED	AFRICAN	TOTAL
1987	5 657 (19%)	18 388 (64%)	4 992 (17%)	29 037
1999	13 857 (22%)	20 815 (33%)	27 758 (45%)	62 420

Mossel Bay Municipal Office – 1999

As the above statistics indicate, Mossel Bay changed from being inhabited predominantly – an overwhelming majority of 64% - by 'Coloured' people to a different racial demography where the 'African' people form the largest category.

While most apartheid legislation, for example, the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act, was abolished between 1990 and 1993, the vast majority of the different racial groups in Mossel Bay still live in separate residential areas. Mixed residential areas have established themselves over the past five years and different race groups are starting to live in the same areas. This phenomenon is happening within the middle-income group of mainly professional people as well as the lowest income group where there is no choice but to share living space particularly in informal settlements. The dominant home languages are Afrikaans and Xhosa, with English a distant third. However, English is the preferred business language and the language used when groups, whose home languages are Afrikaans or Xhosa, meet.

CCD history in Mossel Bay

During 1995, Professor G.N. Naude, the Director of the Centre for Community Development, then still the Centre for Cognitive Development, worked with a company (Nestle) in the Mossel Bay area. Part of this work involved bringing worker-

leaders, the shop-stewards and management of the company to a common understanding. The shop-stewards, who lived in the more needy areas of Mossel Bay, were impressed with the process and asked Professor Naude to consider offering development programmes in their community. Naude's main concern at the time was that such an initiative should involve the broader community and relevant role players had to accept and request the initiative. Some of the shop-stewards were also local community leaders and were well connected in the local community politics as well as the then national liberation politics of the time. Soon meetings with strategic individuals were set up and it was agreed that the Reconstruction and Development Committee (RDP) would give guidance to the initiative. The RDP committee was a representative structure that, once properly and legally constituted, had the responsibility of setting the development agenda for the community.

A favourable occurrence for CCD was the election of one of the community participants, a common denominator (present at all meetings) in all the discussions, as the town's first mayor in the Post-Apartheid era. This appointment was also significant, as he became the first Black Mayor of Mossel Bay. The Mayor supported a development initiative by the CCD and this process gave birth to the community empowerment intervention by the Centre for Community Development who managed to get funding from the W K Kellogg Foundation to reorient the organisation as a community development agency.

The community empowerment programme

The organisation initially set the following objectives for itself. The list below is a summarised version of the envisaged objectives and activities as articulated in the CCD proposal of 1996.

1. The establishment of community based development infrastructure and network (where this did not exist), which would be run by the local community to:
    - identify and address community needs as these arise
    - evaluate the efficacy of CCD's and other community empowerment and development initiatives

- sustain CCD and other community interventions
- co-ordinate and utilise available resources optimally.

2. The development of teams of community facilitators who would be able to address their community's needs either themselves or by mobilising other resources of assistance, in the areas of ;
   - Early Childhood Development
   - Reception Year Teaching
   - Adult Basic Education.

3. The development of a core of motivated educators from preschool to tertiary level, who would be able to influence the process of education transformation in their own schools and community.

4. The development of partnerships between community organisations, local government, other development agencies and sponsors.

5. The development of future community leadership, through
   - Students
   - Youth
   - Civic leaders.

Envisaged Activities

For **Objective 1**, activities would include: [*these are intended activities taken from the initial proposal, not actual activities*]

- Workshops on empowerment, communication, critical thinking, problem solving and decision making for the broader community.
- Training community facilitators to continue the process of community empowerment workshops.
- Workshops on action research, assessment and evaluation.

- Facilitating the creation/establishment of infrastructure to sustain the process of community empowerment.

For **Objective 2**, the activities were: [*this process was already started, hence definite activities]*

- The development of a strong ECD structure for the nurturing and education of the young child.
- Level 1 and 2 ECD training for childminders and partially trained ECD teachers. Training will include a minimum of 25 days of workshop- and school based intervention. This component of community empowerment has a particular focus on job creation possibilities and includes entrepreneurial training for those interested in establishing home care centres.
- Training of local trainers and fieldworkers to conduct further level 1 and 2 ECD workshops and school-based support.
- Training of community facilitators to conduct workshops on parenting, basic health and nutrition.
- The introduction of an accredited certificate course in Early Childhood Development.

For **Objective 3,** the activities would be aimed at equipping **teachers** with the skills to deal with the demands of the new curricula as defined by the Education Department and the challenges of multicultural education, through:

- Workshops on Cognitive Methodology, Teaching for and about thinking.
- Workshops on personal empowerment
- Workshops on multiculturalism
- Workshops on educational renewal
- A system of mentor teachers, who undergo additional training to continue and sustain the process within their own schools
- The introduction of a Further Diploma in Cognitive Education with specialisation in Maths, Science and Language.

For **Objective 4,** activities would include;

- Facilitating the creation of **partnerships** between the various forums that CCD would work with, other development agencies and community organisations, so that resources could be used to the best advantage of all stakeholders. This would include meetings, discussions, networking between health, youth and environmental organisations, schools, churches, industry and agriculture.
- Workshops to develop the necessary skills among local organisations to access resources either through the local Reconstruction and Development Programme, or other government bodies, viz. proposal writing and fundraising.

For **Objective 5,** activities would include

- Workshops for pupils, to enhance their Maths, Science and Language skills in preparation for a technological career.
- Empowerment workshops for youth, to allow them to play a leadership role in their areas of influence, such as schools and re-establishing a culture of learning.
- Workshops for youth and civics, on conflict management, communication, career guidance, crisis management, computer skills, entrepreneurship and leadership.
- Workshops for youth and civics on management and administrative skills and interpersonal skills.
- Training of community facilitators who could continue the process of empowerment with the students, youth and other leaders.

The first intervention, because of the then existing CCD expertise, was with schools in the community. This was financed by a local business. The company Nestle gave seed money for a trainer-of-trainer programme for high and primary schools. The programme focused on training teachers to become competent staff development trainers. Their course focused on meditative teaching methodology, thinking skills, critical thinking, personal empowerment and a learner-centred teaching approach. The programme had three phases: phase one was 10 days of basic training in the above teaching strategies; phase two focused on adult learning and facilitation skills and phase three on capacity building of trainers. All three phases were sponsored by Nestle.

The intervention involved 19 teachers from different schools in the Mossel Bay area. These teachers also represented schools from the previously separate Education Departments, namely the House of Representatives (HoR), House of Assembly (HoA) and the Department of Education and Training (DET).

A management structure for the Community Empowerment Programme or CEP as it became known was established. CCD appointed a staff member as CEP Manager who was locally responsible for the programme and accountable to initially the RDP Committee which became dysfunctional after a while and a Community Forum was established to fulfil this function. The Community Forum was made up of representatives from the education sector, teachers and principals; the police forum; the trade union sector; the municipality, e.g. the Mayor and councillors; religious groupings, mainly the churches; civic organisations (SANCO); and business interests.

The CEP Manager was also responsible to the Directorate of the CCD. The CCD also appointed three local people. One person was employed as an administrator and two as part-time coordinators. These positions existed for a period of a year and a half and changed to one full time position later in the programme. The following table presents a record of workshops or training sessions held in the Mossel Bay area and it covers the focus area, target audience, number of participants that attended as well as the duration of the training sessions.

Table 5.3 (a): Training and workshops in the community

Focus Area	Content	No. Participants	Duration
Education			
Teachers	Personal Empowerment Teaching Skills	23 (19 completed)	10 Days + 5 days follow-up
Principals	Interpersonal Skills and conflict Resolution	18	2 Days
Principals and H.O.Ds.	Curriculum Implementation	15	2 Days
Lead Teachers	Train-the-Trainer Programme	12	10 Three Hour sessions
Teachers	Mathematics	20	8 Three Hour sessions
School Secretaries	Interpersonal Relationships Personal	25	5 Days
Students	Empowerment Life-skills	20	4 Days
	Programme	10	4 Days
Teachers	Life-skills Trainers	36 and 34	2 Days each
Whole Schools x 2	School Governance	20	4 Three Hour sessions
Teachers	Study Skills Programme	26	5 Three Hour sessions
Principals and HODs	School Management Programme	20	4 Three Hour sessions
Teachers	Assessment	20	4 Three Hour sessions
Early Childhood Practitioners x 2	Level 1 Training	24 and 32	15 Days x 2 + Assessment Days
Trainers	Train-the- trainer Programme Basic Programme	12	10 Days + Assessment Days
Day Care Personnel		24	3 Days

Table 5.3 (b) Training and workshops in the community

Women	Personal Empowerment Business Skills Technical Skills - Sewing Technical Skills - Beading	40	6 Days 8 Days 8 Days Support days

Table 5.3 (c) Training and workshops in the community

Organisations			
Fisherman's Forum	Business Skills Leadership and Management	23	4 Days
Prison Supervisors	Interpersonal Relationships	10	4 Days
CAIP – Community Action in Prison	Leadership Skills – Trainer Programme	10	6 Days
Civic Associations x 2	Leadership Programme	22 + 18	2 x 2 Days
RDP Forum	Needs Assessment	25	2 Days
Evaluators	Evaluation Skills	5	5 Days
Social Services	Cooperative Modes	12	4 Days
Shop Stewards	Negotiation Skills	10	2 Days
Consultative Forum	Vision setting and Planning	14	4 Days
Youth	Focus on Street Children	10	2 Days
	Leadership Skills	20	2 Days
Youth in Prison	Life-skills	22	9 x Three Hour sessions
School youth	Parenting	20	2 Days
	Train-the- Trainer Programme	10	6 Days
Youth	Voter and Civic Education	18	5 Days

The above data are of the 'formal' training sessions, obtained from records kept and interviews with facilitators, for which participants received certificates of attendance. Training sessions differed in duration from a short three-hour session to up to 30 days training in the case of the Early Childhood Development training. The latter had a formal assessment component and successful candidates could apply for the Level 1 qualification. Not included in the above list are the training sessions conducted where no attendance certificates were issued, meetings held with various stakeholder groups and the mediation role played by several of the facilitators in situations of conflict. CCD trained 'trainers' conducted a number of training workshops. ECD trainers, teachers who worked with students and teacher-trainers who worked with youth-in-prison and street-children all reported on their training held within these groups. It was difficult to locate the recipients of these training sessions and only participant-teachers and participants in the ECD sector were interviewed. Copies of the advertisements for some the training sessions are attached as appendix **D**.

Evaluation results

Phase one - The intervention domain – The programme theory

The evaluative focus in the intervention domain was the eliciting, establishing or the constructing of a programme theory of the CCD intervention. To this end, relevant documents were perused, and the CCD management, programme implementers and programme participants were interviewed. A total of 23 people were interviewed. The quotations, used in this section and other phases of the evaluation, were selected from interview data obtained at different times. The interview data were organised in 'batches' and referenced as per 'interview data batch' (IDB 1 to 4), except those specifically cited from relevant documents.

Several assumptions about the Mossel Bay community, held before and during the intervention, were shared (IDB1).

- All the residents had been adversely affected by Apartheid legislation in terms of inter-personal and race relations [CCD – Management].

- The Community was very divided along racial and political lines [Facilitator].
- It was a community desperate for assistance [Facilitator].
- The needs in this community did not stay constant [CCD – Management].
- Community was controlled by conservative elements [Facilitator].
- People were willing and eager to learn and participate [Facilitator].
- A very fragmented community [CCD – management] [Facilitator].
- There was deep resentment about white privilege [Facilitator].
- Afrikaans-speaking Whites did not see the necessity to participate [Participant].
- Afrikaans-speaking Whites had their own idea of community [Participant].
- The business community could be persuaded to support development [CCD – management] [Participant].
- With the support of the new mayor things would happen without delay [Participant] [CCD – Management].
- The development of local trainers could lead to further development. [CCD – management] [Facilitator].

As a means of getting to the programme theory, the interview questions focused on the core element(s) of the CCD community development programme, that is 'community empowerment.' The following interpretations of 'community empowerment' emerged from CCD texts and interviews with staff and community members.

> We need to re-establish a culture of learning and teaching, we need to re-affirm the role of family and community, and we need to enhance the dignity and self-esteem of the individual. The Centre for Cognitive Development (CCD) believes that this can be achieved through a process of community empowerment with a specific emphasis on cognitive education, critical thinking and processes which harness potential and enable people to take responsibility for their own lives. [CCD – Proposal, 1996]

> By definition, community empowerment implies the inclusion of all sectors of the community, and aims to facilitate interaction between, and cut across traditional social, economic and racial divides. Empowerment is NOT about providing solutions or creating dependency. It is NOT about providing physical

structures or satisfying the needs of service providers or funders. Empowerment is therefore NOT development. Development is rather an outcome of empowerment. [CCD – Proposal, 1996]

Empowerment is the process of:

- re-affirming people's sense of worth and dignity
- enabling people to take responsibility for their own upliftment
- developing human potential and building capacity
- getting people to become reflective about themselves and their realities
- developing the thinking of individuals and groups and thereby enhancing community initiative and responsibility
- enabling people to becomes policy makers within and outside their own communities.

This definition also defines the parameters within which CCD will work, viz cognitive education for empowerment, and facilitating the creation of partnerships and community networks. [CCD – Proposal, 1996]

An empowered community is a community that can do things for itself. Community empowerment is a process of or facilitating processes to help communities to get there. In the case of Mossel Bay it is the process of levelling the playing fields so that everybody can start at the same point. [CCD – Management; IDB1]

I think it would be capacity building in a very broad term. But to me capacity building entails skills, it entails self-confidence, it entails resources, all of the things that people did not have. [CCD – Management; IDB1]

I think community empowerment is for people to become less reactive and less oppressed by situations and to see the opportunities to become pro-active, to be more determined, to be more innovative and to take more initiative, to see the potential in situations, to see beyond the problems, to see life beyond the pain and the devastation. [CCD – Facilitator; IDB1]

It is the awakening perhaps to various degrees in various people where they get to understand their own abilities and it means little if it just means a consciousness raising. The people develop an understanding of their inner strengths and powers that enable them to enact in a social context. [CCD – Facilitator; –IDB1]

Daar is wanpersepsies oor bemagtiging, ek kry die gevoel dat mense het die idée dat bemagtiging altyd en uitsluitlik finansiele implikasies het maar dit is nie waaroor bemagtiging gaan nie. Ek glo dat dit maak nie saak wie of wat jy is nie jy het drome an as enige organisasie iemand kan help om sy droom te verwesenlik dan is hy goed, so vind uit wat die man se drome is.
(There is a misperception about empowerment, I get the feeling that people have the idea that empowerment always has financial implications, but this is not empowerment. I believe, it does not matter who you are, you have dreams, and if any organisation can help someone achieve his dreams, then it is good, so find out what the man's dreams are.)
[Forum Member; IDB1]

My understanding of the term empowerment is that you move in to assist people but you actually leave them at the stage where they are able to do things themselves, to sustain themselves and that you should be moving out leaving a structure in place that is able to manage itself. [Facilitator; IDB1]

I think a community empowerment project should leave a community with the… skills to function completely independently and to be able to do things independently, to know that there's somebody out there that they can always go to should they require assistance. [Facilitator; IDB1]

The core assumptions in community empowerment for CCD include a prevailing optimism about human beings, the desirability and necessity of transformation and change for democracy to take root, as well as the importance of proactivity and responsibility. Change occurs at different levels and while we emphasise certain levels at particular times we value and promote

> change at all levels. We aim to integrate social and personal transformation. [Facilitator; IDB1]
>
> CCD also supports and facilitates the implementation of a broad range of ideas such as representativeness, non-racism, non-sexism, inclusivity, affirmative action, connectedness, capacity building, independence and interdependence, critical thinking, multiculturalism, tolerance and dialogue, most of which, when applied, enable people to feel better about themselves and enable them to become part of a nation-building process. [Facilitator; IDB1]

The term 'community' was defined by some as a geographic entity and others were more specific about the focus of the community development efforts.

> I think in terms of community I saw Mossel Bay as a geographical area. Although this is made up of many communities, what I wanted us to achieve was to make it more a geographic community of 'haves' and 'have-nots'. [CCD- Management; IDB1]
>
> We employed people from the sort of three main groups in the Mossel Bay meaning, the Whites, the Coloureds and the Africans, hoping to appeal to everybody, but it seems to have panned out differently in that the community targeted for political and economic improvement, although not exclusively, was the previously disadvantaged in the townships and those who have been excluded previously from the economic systems. The Whites, upon reflection, were mainly brought in on a supportive role. [CCD – Facilitator; IDB1]
>
> We made some attempts to incorporate all communities. This was easier in the formal sector, like schooling where teachers and principals from all races attended but the needs came from the township communities and they demanded most of our resources and time. [CCD – Facilitator; IDB1]

CCD personnel were also asked about the relationship they saw between the two concepts, 'community empowerment' and 'community development'.

I think that what we probably do is we do community development through empowerment because we concentrate more on leaving behind people that are skilled and maybe some systems but we don't set up structures. Well, thinking about it now, we did set up structures for some groups. [CCD – Management; IDB1]

There is nothing neat and nothing tidy about development generally, basically because you are working with humans and human beings and human thinking and that has brought one to realise there is certainly no recipe or predictable route. Our attempt at development has been to target individuals within group contexts and to empower them, rather, they choose to empower themselves so that development can take place. But it is messy, for example, the people who have lived in Mossel Bay all their lives, and I am talking about the black people, they resent the arrival of the 'incomers' who arrived for the Mosgas jobs. [CCD – Facilitator; IDB1]

Empowerment happens at different levels. I think it has to do with your own history and reconciling that to your present and factors like self confidence, innovations, problem solving and willingness to risk, you know, sort of personal things … I also think it's very much a community process, it's a relational things and requires people to think as a team about how they can affect systems, structures, organisations and institutions. [CCD – Facilitator; IDB1]

What mechanism(s) did CCD employ to attain the empowerment objectives within the programme?

We use a very strong mediation approach, let people speak about their experiences, we do a lot of affirmation of who people are and what they want to achieve, it is not a whole lot of lectures that are given. We start off the process of empowerment, I think which none of the other organisations touch on and we are highly commended for the personal empowerment stuff that we do. You

know, life skills stuff. We also work on a needs base, assessing and establishing with the groups what their needs are, what are the things that are required. Other service agencies initiate their processes and throw people in at the deep end with technical skills and so forth. [CCD – Facilitator; IDB1]

We start off from the premise that we all have baggage and filters as a result of past social programming and we believe in the capacity of people to unlearn and relearn for a different society. From the beginning we introduce issues of power relations, stuff we/ they have internalised and we encourage the development of communication and conflict management skills. We also show that self-expression and assertiveness are valued while suppression and aggression are generally devalued. [CCD- Facilitator; IDB1]

The following are selected comments made by participants about what they found most valuable in the training offered by CCD.

I must admit the personal empowerment part was very valuable to me. Schools have a setting of a group of people who don't realise their strengths and weaknesses, strengths more than weaknesses – I think it made it valuable for us as teachers as a group to realise that 'wow' there's something in each of us that actually we can make a difference. [Teacher – Participant; IDB1]

I think generally, there is a fear and this is a fear from a lack of knowledge of what professionalism is, and the personal empowerment exercises helped us confront that fear and overcome it, we are now building on our knowledge. [Teacher – Participant; IDB1]

Kom ons vat die een oor Assertiveness, ek myself bied workshops aan en is baie betrokke in my kerk en ek kon dieselfde materiaal wat ek by CCD gekry het in my workshops gebruik wat ek aanbied. Ons kon ook van die material wat hulle uitdeel gedurende die workshops gebruik binne ons werk, dis hoekom ek se regtigwaar hulle workshops is goed, dit is leersaam, en jy voel bemagtig as jy daar uitkom.

(Let's take the one on assertiveness. I offer workshops myself and I am very involved in my church where I could use the same materials I got from CCD. We could also use the handouts from the workshops in our workplace, that is why I can truly say that the workshops were good, a learning experience and you feel empowered when you leave the worshop). [Fisherman – Participant; IDB3]

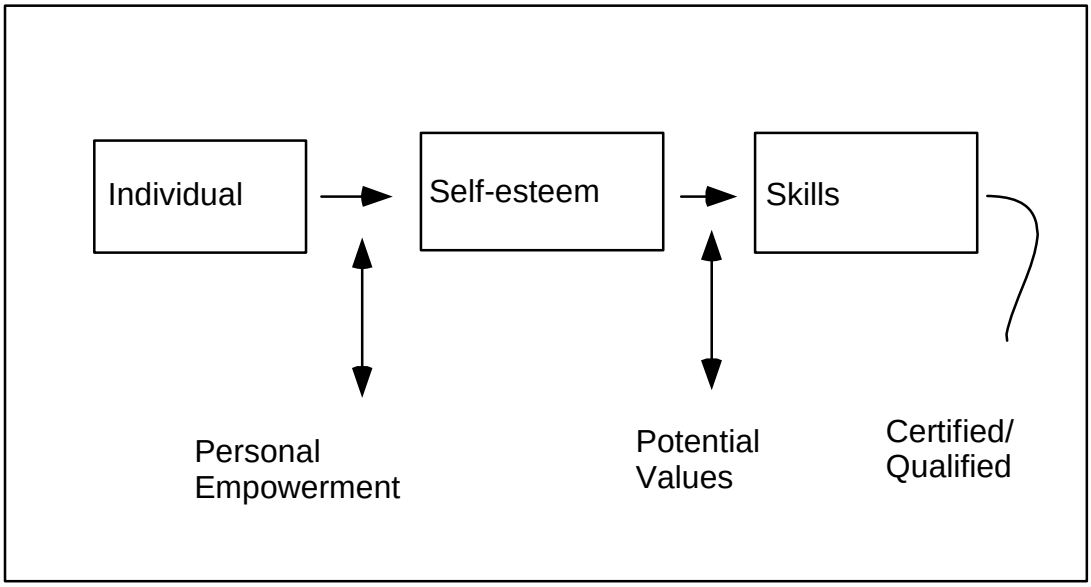
We can run our own business now, because we have the skills, thanks to CCD. We have even diversified to beadwork. We know we will be successful, not only because we have the business skills but CCD also helped us work as a team. We handle our conflict and we deal with the problems. I was worried at one point, but now we seem to on track. [Women's Group – Participant; IDB3]

Yes, we learned a lot from CCD, but if they did not help us get the equipment and the first contract, there would have been no work. So, it is good to have all the skills but if there is no work what do you do with the skills? [Women's Group – Participant; IDB3]

Die mees waardevol vir my aan hierdie kursus was op daardie stadium het ek deur n baie kritieke tyd gegaan met my kollegas, n baie stresvolle tyd en dinge wat ons toe daar geleer het omtrent bemagtiging en verhoudinge het my gehelp om dinge uit a beter oogpunt te sien. Ek kon agter kom die redes waarom die volgende persoon so op tree en ek kon deur middel van wat ons by hierdie kursus geleer het kon ek weer op my manier vir daardie persoon wys en die probleem oplos.
(The most valuable aspect for me about this course is that at that stage I was going through a very critical time with my colleagues, a very stressful time and stuff we learned there about empowerment and relationships helped me to see things from another viewpoint. I realised some of the reasons behind the other person's behaviour and use the things we learned in this course to show the person and solve the problem). [Secretary – Participant; IDB3]

The discussion and analysis of the significance of the above conceptions and the various 'models' that follow, are presented in the next chapter, chapter six. After establishing, in broad terms, articulated meanings of the various concepts such as community, community development and community empowerment as used within the Centre for Community Development, individuals were asked to visually/ graphically construct their views and or visions of the work CCD was doing in the Mossel Bay area. This task was very difficult for most of respondents. The following graphics represent the 'models' generated by management and staff.

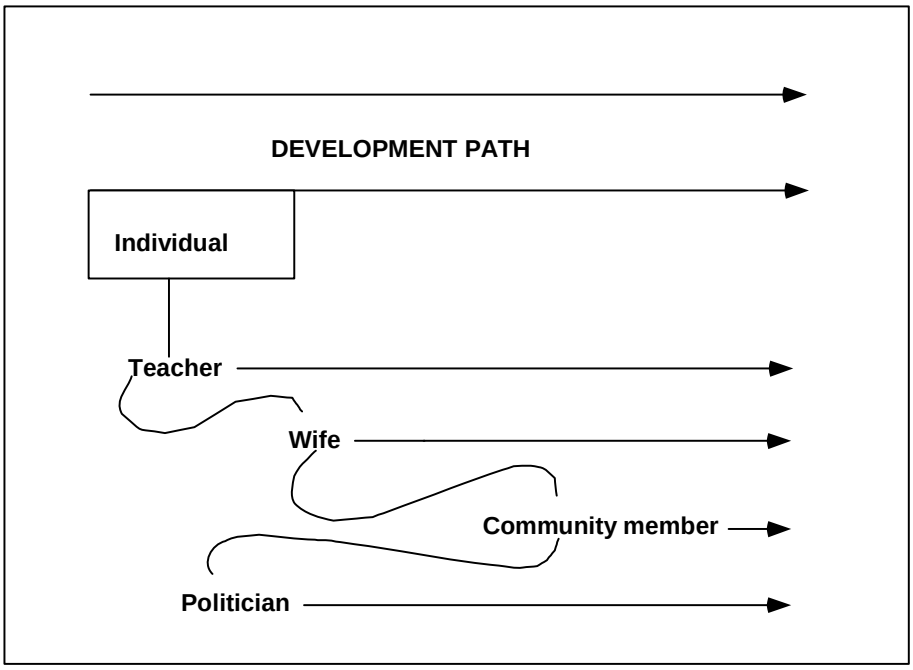
Figure 5.1: Empowerment process



[CCD - FACILITATOR]

The 'empowerment process' model outlined by the facilitator depicts, according to him, the process through which an individual goes when participating in the CCD training programme. The person is first taken through a personal empowerment process and this process affects the person's self-esteem and values conducive to growth. Then the person is provided with 'hard skills' for whatever practical purposes and the result will be, can be, a suitably qualified or skilled person with a positive disposition.

Figure 5.2: Development paths for individuals



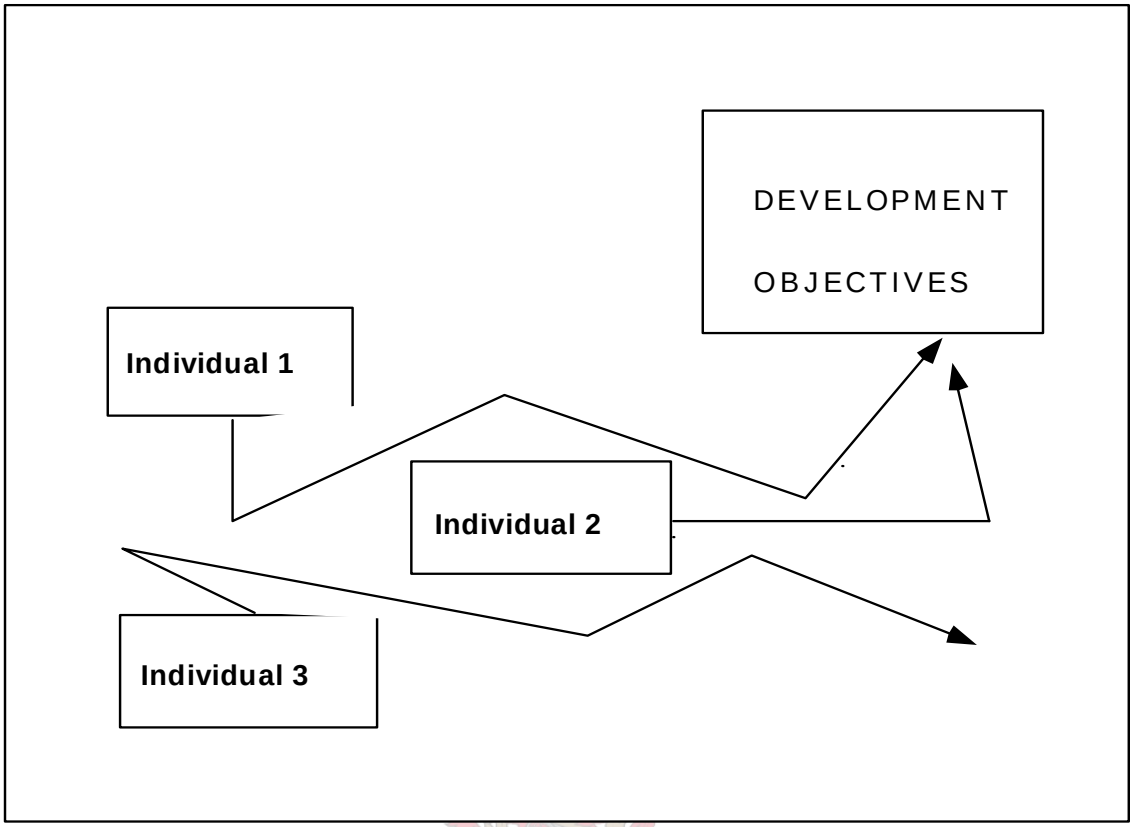
[CCD - MANAGEMENT]

The 'development path' model focuses on the development path for an individual but interestingly portrays the individual as having many roles/ identities and these roles or identities may be in different 'developmental positions'. The respondent supported this graphic representation with the following comment.

> You often find activists in communities who are also school teachers. While they are very progressive activists and live out their democratic values within their communities, they are poor teachers who abuse their positions in schools. Similarly, you will find a good teacher who is confident in her job and well liked by everybody, but when she gets home, her husband undermines her all the time. [CCD – Management; IDB1]

The respondent suggested that the CCD programme attempted to make participants aware of their various identities and through reflection, identify their weaknesses and strengths and build on them.

Figure 5.3: Levels and paths of individuals



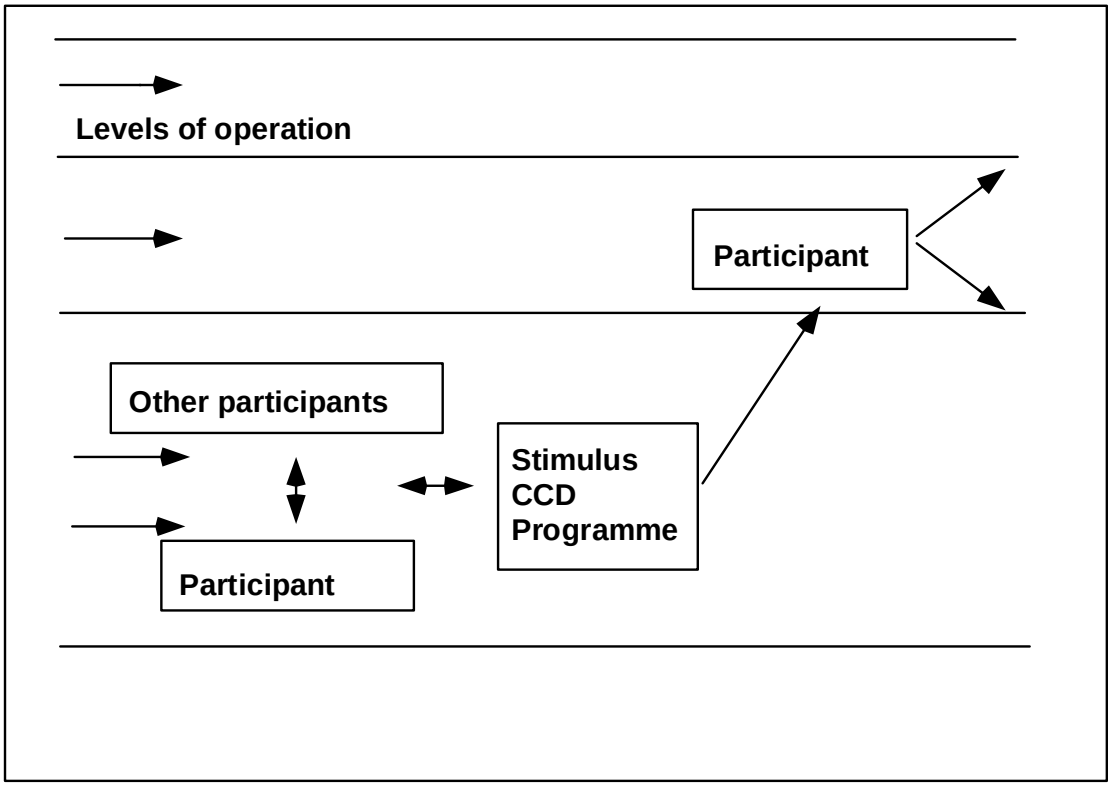
[CCD - MANAGEMENT]

The 'levels and paths' graphic was provided to indicate that individuals enter training programmes being at different levels of development. While they are all exposed to the same programme, they react and respond differently and find their own paths toward the development objectives. Very often, some do not reach the objectives at all, as illustrated with 'Individual 3' in the model. When asked about the phenomenon of people not reaching the objectives, the respondent provided the following comment;

> We cannot force people to change. Change is a journey and when people come onto our courses they first want to see what is in it for them. When some of them realise that it involves taking risks, shifting from comfort zones, and questioning old habits, they stay away or they withdraw within themselves. Personal empowerment involves them empowering themselves, they must make the decision, we merely provide a safe environment for it to happen. [CCD – Management; IDB1]

The element of choice, suggested in the above model, was an interesting phenomenon. Interesting in a programmatic sense because if individuals do make choices contrary to expected programme outcomes, then programmes of this nature would seldom succeed. However, a participant provided the following representation of the effect of the CCD intervention on her.

Figure 5.4: Levels of operation

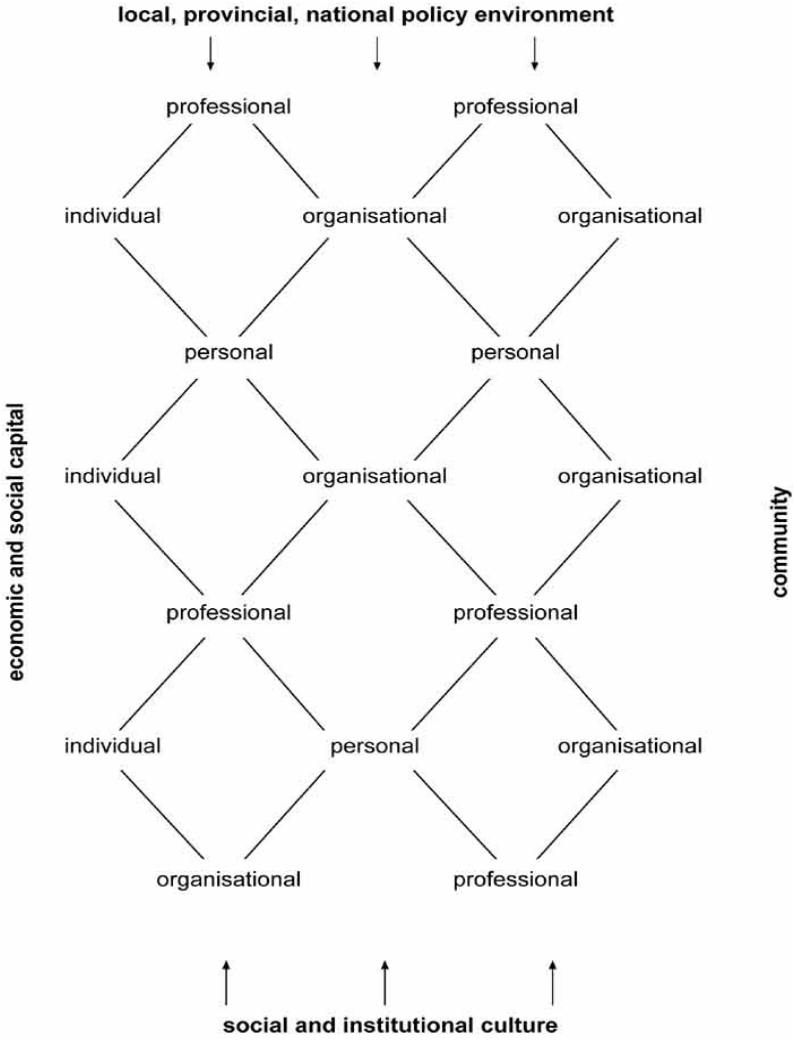


[PARTICIPANT]

The participant indicated that the intervention acted as a stimulus and enabled her to operate at another, higher level of functioning, be it in terms of skills acquired or the insights in terms of her inter-personal relationships. On the other hand, she suggested that ongoing functioning at the higher level was impossible in the absence of more stimuli (interventions). The choice for her then was whether to continue operating at the 'new' level or seek out more stimuli that would see her operating at an even higher level, or to revert back to her original level of operation which was known, comfortable and accepted by everybody.

The respondents who generated the above 'models' of development were at pains to add that their graphic representations were limited because they could not include the organisational links of the individuals nor could they depict the complicated policy environment in which community development has to operate. After some discussion, the following 'fishnet model' was presented to a small group of CCD-facilitators who indicated that it was a good approximation of the policy environment.

Figure 5.5: Policy and institutional environment of community development



The 'fishnet model' of individual growth and community development above highlights the interrelatedness of social capital, the multiple roles of the individual

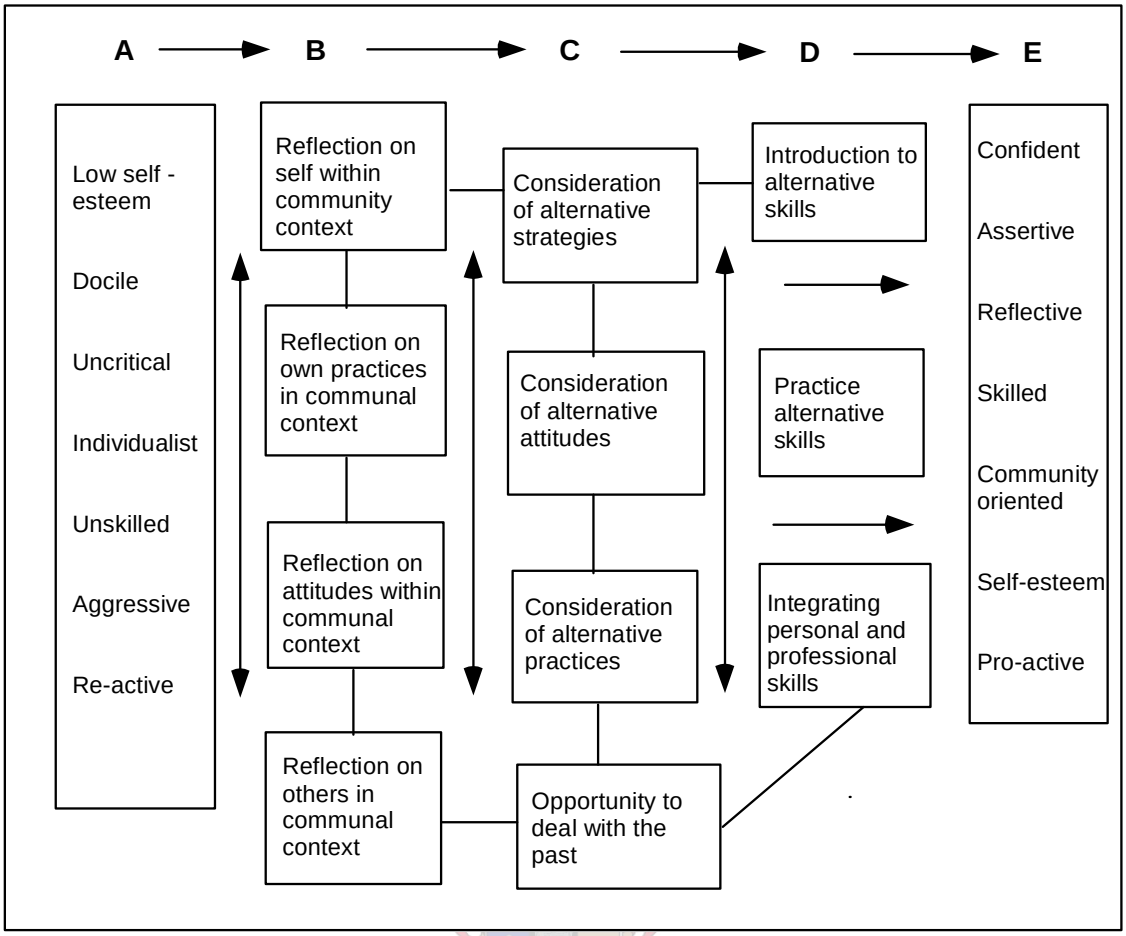
(personal, professional and organisational) and how these are constantly influenced by factors such as the policies of the day and the cultural environment individuals find themselves. During the discussion about this model, as one representation of the complex nature of community development, the following comments were made.

> I like the way the multiple roles of the individual are depicted. However, it is not clear which has a stronger pull, the social and institutional culture or the policy environment. Maybe it changes from time to time or maybe they work together. Anyway, it is not clear. [CCD- Facilitator; IDB2]

> You know for me there is another way of looking at this model. The way it is now, you have individuals neatly linked to their professions and organisations. What you do not have are those who are not necessarily linked to such structures, for example a street person. But I guess the model is still appropriate because they fall through the holes in the net. [CCD – Facilitator; IDB2]

The following 'model' of the personal empowerment process was developed by this researcher and presented to CCD staff for discussion. The initial model did not have the '**A'** column, this was added after the discussion. Those present during the discussion admitted that the states/conditions of individuals, as described by the concepts in column **A,** were assumed and that no pre-tests were done to confirm these conditions. They indicated however, that these assumptions were supported by numerous studies that described the psychological, social and economic effects of Apartheid on most South Africans.

Figure 5.6: Personal empowerment model



The initial model, i.e. without column **A**, was based on the sharing of CCD staff and facilitators about they generally intervened in different contexts in a community. This construction was an attempt to produce a model that represented their interventions across the different contexts of schools, women and /or youth. Column **B** represents a reflection stage introduced by CCD as articulated by a facilitator; "It is the awakening … the people develop an understanding of their inner strengths and powers that enable them to enact in a social context (Facilitator; IDB1)." The interconnections between the blocks indicate the various aspects that are supposedly reflected upon during this stage. For example, the self, as referred to in above quote; the self and others as in "I also think it's very much a community process, it's a relational thing and requires people to think as a team about how they can affect systems (Facilitator; IDB1)." The reflection stage represented in this column also covers issues of attitudes and practices as articulated in "developing the thinking of individuals and thereby enhancing community initiative and responsibility (CCD – Proposal, 1996)."

Column **C**, captures the alternatives introduced by CCD for example "a broad range of ideas such as representativeness, non-racism, non-sexism, affirmative action, connectedness… (Facilitator – IDP1)." Column **D** refers specifically to the skills introduced by CCD as in the objective to "leave a community with the… skills to function completely independently and able to do things independently… (Facilitator – IDP1)." The last column, represents the outcomes of the intervention, that of producing people with a sense of dignity and self-worth who can take responsibility for their own growth and would regarded as skilled in their specific area of activity. As indicated earlier, column **A** was not part of the model during the discussion, and the following comment sheds more light on their understanding of the 'baseline conditions' as represented in this column.

> People are different. They come into the workshop with different expectations and sets of skills. I don't agree that they all are 'unskilled'. Some of them are very skilled but they lack confidence – that is where we come in. Also, you find very confident people but they are aggressive and arrogant and I show them that they will benefit by altering their behaviour, especially when I work with individuals who are in different power positions. (Facilitator; IDB3)

The discussion of the personal empowerment process, or model finally led to the development of a graphic representation of CCD's community development approach within a community. The brief the CCD participants had for the construction of this model was 'to illustrate CCD's approach to community development graphically and in so doing, highlight the key features of CCD's intervention and to show how these features are linked to each other. This approach is presented in figure 5.7 below. This process of getting to this 'model' took a while and although the respondents agreed that it can be regarded as a close approximation of what CCD does in communities, it is not perfect nor can it be regarded as the only way CCD is currently working within communities. The model is presented here and will be discussed and analysed later in chapter six.

Figure 5.7 : CCD - Community development model

Phase two – implementation environment domain

The intention for this phase was for this researcher to observe a number of 'training sessions' and interview participants and facilitators. The negotiation with CCD management resulted in an agreement that instead of this researcher alone doing the observations and interviews, that local people should also be trained to assist in this process. The evaluative process in this domain therefore had a dual purpose, (a) that of assessing the implementation and outcomes of aspects of the CCD programme in Mossel Bay, (b) as well as building capacity of individuals within the Mossel Bay community to engage in evaluation/research activities. The entire training course, outlined in a previous chapter, was underpinned by practice and reflection. The six participants, that later became four, generated frameworks/schedules for observations (attached as appendix **B1**) during workshops. They also developed interview schedules (appendix **B2**) for participants during workshops, the trainers facilitating the workshops, and key individuals in the broader community.

At the end of the evaluation process, i.e. collective data analysis, the four participants (fieldworkers) were asked to record in an essay the process they went through in becoming evaluators in this project. The following are extracts from their essays;

> I now see myself as a researcher because I have to evaluate the workshops and bring back all I have seen in that workshop and report it back. I have to report all the information of that workshop, if the venue was suitable for that workshop and if there were enough people and all that. That is why I see myself as a researcher. The information I gained here I would like to pass on to other people so that they should know what is happening in our community. [Fieldworker 1]

> I always thought that only clever people can do research. This project has given me the opportunity to do some research and I enjoyed it very much. Research requires a lot of reading and I am fortunate that I am a bit of a bookworm. I feel that more people should be involved in this evaluation process, because if you do not research certain things you won't be able to have the necessary

knowledge and insight. I think we should receive training about research because it is a wide field and we need to know much more about research. This process has allowed me to get to know myself better and to get to know other people better, even if we speak different mother-tongues. [Fieldworker 2]

The worst nightmare for me was when I received the news that I should interview the Mayor. My first question was, why me? I wanted to interview some black people so it would be easier. But now I say that was good for me really. This gave me much more self reliability and self confidence. When I went in and out of those offices it made me feel like a decent person. What is funny about this is that no matter what status you have or they have, they feel uneasy when you ask them questions, especially if you ask to use the recorder. Being an evaluator helps you think more broadly, it helps with communication skills, mixing with other people and still be who you are. [Fieldworker 3]

I never thought I could be researcher. I can see myself now to play a very important role in Mossel Bay in the development of its people. This was always my expectation to see that the disadvantaged communities can prove themselves and also to unlock themselves from the cruel past we came from. By being a researcher I will know more now about what the needs of the people are. The need I personally have now is more training as an evaluator. At the moment I feel I have not gained as much as I wanted for myself and I also hope that I will obtain this training as soon a possible. I also feel very much motivated with myself, with the responses I have received so far from the interviews. [Fieldworker 4]

Using the three schedules, one, their own observation of a particular workshop, two an interview with the presenter and three, interviewing three participants, the fieldworkers were able to triangulate the information gained from these three separate sources.

Six workshops were observed, three facilitators/trainers were interviewed and 16 workshop participants were interviewed. The six workshops ranged from primary and high school staffs (two workshops), the RDP forum (two workshops), the Fishermen's

Trust (one workshop) and the SANCO –Civic Association, (one workshop). The data analysis process structured the information into five major themes namely motivation, organisational, the training process, the value added and the overall impression of CCD work

Motivation

The central concern with this theme, and the questions related to the theme, was to gauge the reasons participants had for attending the training sessions offered by CCD. Most of the participants responded by articulating a sense of need on their part. The need expressed was firstly connected to the external changing environment and the sense that they had to prepare for that change.

> Things are changing in this country, all the laws are changing and I need to be prepared for those changes. That is why I came. [Participant – Civic; IDB2]

> There is a new curriculum and as teachers we were not trained for this new system. I think we must all be re-trained and it is good to have trainers like the CCD people. [Participant – teacher; IDB2]

Other participants expressed needs that dealt with the intention of self or organisational improvement.

> As an organisation we have committed people but not very skilled people. I came to gain more skills so that I can improve our organisation. I know we have a lot to learn. [Participant – Civic; IDB2]

> I want to improve myself so that I can be the best that I can be. That means that I will go to all the training that comes available. I have a vision for myself and that is to be a leader for my people. [Participant – Fishermen; IDB2]

Other comments about what motivated them to attend the training related to opportunity, curiosity and two comments where people felt they had no choice.

> We never had the opportunity to improve ourselves. Here is an opportunity, it doesn't cost us a cent. It would be stupid not to attend. [Participant – Civic; IDB2]
>
> Nobody will help us if we don't help ourselves. CCD is giving us the opportunity to improve ourselves and we are going to have to compete with the whites who have had all kinds of opportunities. That is why I came to this workshop. [Participant – Civic; IDB2]
>
> My principal told be to be here. If I had a choice I could be at home with my kids, I think it will be a waste of time. [Participant – teacher; IDB2]
>
> We were informed that there will be this workshop and that we had to attend. She did not ask us if we really wanted to attend, so here I am. [Participant – teacher; IDB2]

Organisational aspects;

All three sources of information found the training venues to be accessible and suitable for training purposes. This was deemed as an improvement because participants who had attended previous training sessions run by the CCD complained about the inaccessibility of the then venues used. It seemed as if a concerted effort had been made to ensure that venues within the target community were used for training. In the case of school staffs, the school premises were used and staff members had no need to travel. The venues were not only accessible but also deemed to be suitable for training purposes, there were enough chairs, the ventilation was good and there was enough space for people to move around. It was suggested here that the satisfactory attendance for these six workshops could be related to the accessibility of the venues. All the workshops, except one, had twenty or more participants. The one workshop, with the fishermen, had poor attendance on the first day. It was also found that the fishermen, given time off work to attend the workshop, elected to stay at home. The principal organiser for the fishermen committed himself to address the issue through the

employers of these individuals. It was also be stated that there was a lack of training culture among the fishermen, hence the poor attendance. The attendance of fishermen for training workshops improved dramatically during subsequent sessions (not observed, but reported). This could be because of genuine interest on their part or the threat of misconduct proceedings from their employers. The racial mix of the participants satisfied all parties.

> Yes, I'm satisfied because there were old ladies, the gentlemen from different structures and young ladies from sewing and the catering groups. [Participant; IDB2]

> Very happy, we learn a lot from the different race groups. We do not often get the opportunity to share. When we meet like this we find that we are not that different. [Participant; IDB2]

The only concern was the gender mix of the groups. With the fishermen it was predominantly male and all the other workshops it was predominantly female. This could be related to the scheduled time for the workshops and the interests of the individuals. The training of five workshops was scheduled for 9h00 and only one workshop started at 14h00.

Training process

There was genuine satisfaction with the processes used during the workshops. The participants found the facilitators to be flexible, sensitive, and knowledgeable. The materials handed out were deemed to be useful and accessible. None of the participants suggested any improvements to the workshop processes.

> You could see that he knew what he was talking about. He spoke to everybody, he didn't ignore any person. Sometimes people do that, especially if you talk too much. But …*the facilitator*… did not stand in one place, he moved around and interacted with all of us. [Participant; IDB2]

> He was very comfortable with us, the workshop was well planned even when we felt it was going off track he got us back to our objectives. I think we need more people like him, he must work with our bosses so that they can listen. [Participant; IDB2]

> I think this worked because the facilitator modelled the kind of behaviour he spoke about. He listened to all of us, he did not judge us and he allowed our own opinions to be discussed. That is why it worked. He allowed us to get to know him and he got to know us. I am very impressed. [Participant; IDB2]

Value-added

Under value added, participants had to share what specific things they gained from the workshops. Most of the participants were vague, and responded with statements like,'I learned a lot', ' feel like a new person' or 'I understand what is expected of me now'. The following are more specific comments.

> I learned how to handle my anger, not to judge someone and to be open, invitational. I now want to go out into the community and share the information with them. [Participant; IDB2]

> I learned a lot and I know how to present myself and also how to negotiate. I will use it at work and it will also be my weapon. [Participant; IDB2]

> I learned to be honest and also told that it's good not to talk too much but listen to others when they are talking and to be accepting of others. As from the day after the workshop I will try and teach others at work and practice what I've gained in the workshop.[Participant; IDB2]

The participants generally left the workshops with useful skills and information (this conclusion arrived at from self reports). They all indicated that they would use the information and skills in their private lives and share with broader community. The

scope of this evaluation did not include an assessment of the extent to which the participants in fact used the skills.

Overall impression of CCD work and other needs

All the participants expressed their appreciation for the kind of work the CCD was doing. They felt that it was necessary and linked directly to needs they had expressed to the CCD Manager. Participants also expressed the need for more work/training around conflict resolution and sharing information about the new Labour Relations Act.

> CCD workshops should be offered with the bosses also, in their work situations because they need this kind of workshops. [Participant; IDB2]

The general feeling of participants was that they wanted more training and that other people needed to be exposed to the training offered by the CCD.

CCD work in the broader community.

In an attempt to assess the CCD work in the broader community the evaluators generated an interview schedule to be used with key-informants in the Mossel Bay community. Four individuals were targeted. Two well-known school principals (a male and a female representing the "black" and "coloured" divisions existing within the broader community), the mayor of Mossel Bay and a Community worker who has had years of experience - particularly in the ECD field - working within the Mossel Bay "black" community. The key-informants met CCD through attending meetings addressed by the Director of CCD as well as the Project Managers of CCD. Their impressions were that CCD was;

> "trying to help the community to empower themselves, and to help people to work together" [INFORMANT; IDB2]

> “trying to uplift the community and to give the community some skills and to empower the community”. [INFORMANT; IDB2]

> “ there to educate communities and schools so that they can stand on their own feet, and also about the new curriculum so that the teaching can be more professional”.[INFORMANT; IDB2]

They identified their needs as; training in facilitation, more professionalism among the teaching staff, capacity building among the young people, and how to access financial resources. They all commented on the high quality of the training received by themselves and other participants. According to them;

> “teachers are more involved with their students”, they have many more skills and tricks to utilize in their daily activities.” [INFORMANT; IDB2]

> “people are more willing to participate and they have more self-esteem.” [INFORMANT; IDB2]

They also indicated that they would be happier if CCD was more visible and did more workshops with teachers and members of the community organisation, SANCO. Management of schools, with specific reference to parental involvement also needed more attention and a special focus on students in schools. CCD should focus training on the various projects they have and provide the necessary skills.

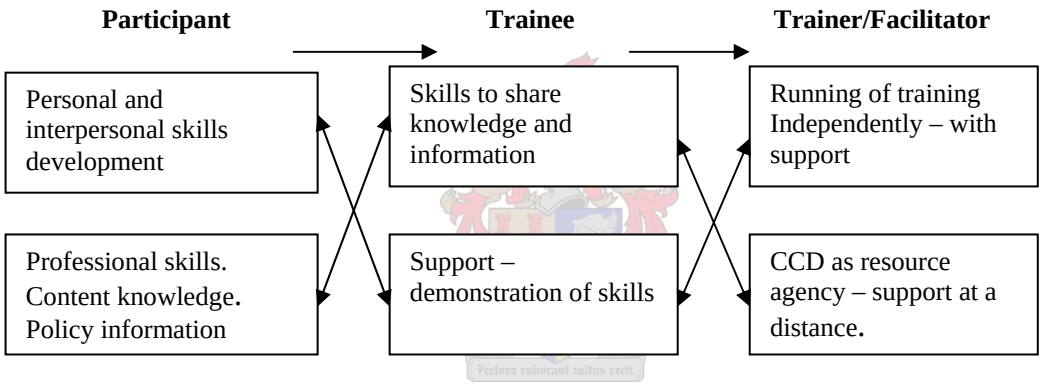
> We are pleased CCD is here in Mossel Bay and I would like CCD to start developing our whole country.[INFORMANT; IDB2]

> I think CCD is a must for our community. I think business and also Council must contribute to CCD financially so as to help them to actually involve more organisations, to train more organisations and people in our town as a whole. [INFORMANT; IDB2]

The specific workshops or training sessions observed however, focused only on the implementation of aspects of individual training sessions. They did not look at the underlying implementation theory of the programme.

The theory-driven orientation to the evaluation necessitated the generation of the programme theory – provided earlier. To complete the theory of change promoted by the intervention it was necessary to establish the implementation theory of the intervention. This varied slightly from focus area to focus area but the underlying principle of building local capacity for local use remained throughout.

Figure 5.8 Implementation theory



This model was constructed using the intent embedded in the statements lifted from documents and statements made by CCD management and facilitators. For example;

> "The development of teams of community facilitators who are able to address their community's needs either themselves or by mobilising other resources of assistance." [CCD – proposal, 1996]

> ""you move in to assist people but you actually leave them at the stage where they are able to do things themselves, to sustain themselves… leaving a structure in place that is able to manage itself. [Facilitator; IDB1]

How successful the CCD trained facilitators operated in the community was assessed through interviews with ECD trainers.

> It started off very nicely, we had a good group of people and we ran three workshops, fairly successfully. The third one wasn't so successful, only half the people came and they were complaining all the time. [Trainer; IDB4]

> I think it is a case of being too familiar with us. If it was a CCD facilitator who said the same thing, they would listen to her, but they don't trust that we also know. [Trainer; IDB4]

> I also think it is a case of jumping in too soon. We were left to do our own thing without support. We only know what CCD taught us but CCD facilitators know more than that. [Trainer; IDB4]

> Don't get me wrong, I think a lot had to do with race and language. It wasn't racism as such, but most the trainers were of a particular race and had English as first language or could speak it fluently but the trainees were mostly African ladies who did not speak English that well. [Trainer; IDB4]

None of the other trainers were available to be interviewed or observed so the comments about the train-the-trainer model pertain to the ECD field only. The train-the-trainer model was the underlying strategy for capacity building in the area and ensuring that continued capacity for training remained within the community. The ECD sector in the Southern Cape at the time of research was a fairly well organised sector. They welcomed the presence of the CCD and ensured that people were trained. They were also the first to avail themselves to be trained as trainers, and this involved extensive training over a period of time. The potential trainers were identified after the generic training received by a large number of participants (check record in this chapter). However, the following comments made by some of the trainers, point to some limitations in this strategy.

"Trainees prefer to be trained by experts or those they perceive to be experts" [Trainer; IDB4]

"Trainers have limitations and know only what they were taught by the experts." [Trainer; IDB4]

"It is important to ensure that 'diverse' potential trainers are drawn from a diverse group." [Trainer; IDB4]

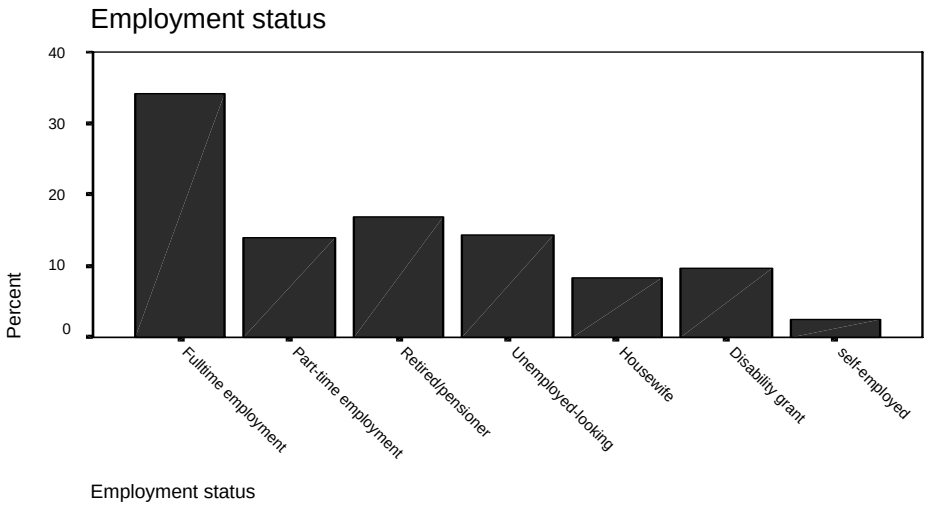
"It is also important to know when a trainer is deemed to be qualified as a trainer. This will determine the length and depth of the training programme and the levels of competencies will be clearly articulated." [Trainer; IDB4]

Phase three - outcome domain

As a measure of the outcomes of the CCD work in the Mossel Bay Community a survey was conducted at the end of 1999. The primary purpose of the survey was a skills audit, commissioned by the local Economic Development Forum, an informal body created by business, local government, and community organisations. The CCD was instrumental in setting up this forum. The Economic Development Forum was particularly interested in the kinds of skills, the spread of skills, and the level of skills present in the households of the lower and lower-middle income sections of the community. In the absence of a complete registry of residents – 1996 census data had to be purchased by the municipality – a map of the area with plot numbers was utilized. A total of 2650 plot numbers were selected as the population. This excluded the white population completely and some of the 'mixed' upper-middle income areas. After discarding all the identified vacant plots, recreational areas and small business plots, the population decreased to 2365. This population was identified as those 'at risk' and most efforts of the CCD were aimed at supporting this section of the community. A random sample of 250 was selected with a return of 237, giving a sample of 9.5%. Unlike the previous two phases, the discussion and analysis of the findings are spread throughout this section.

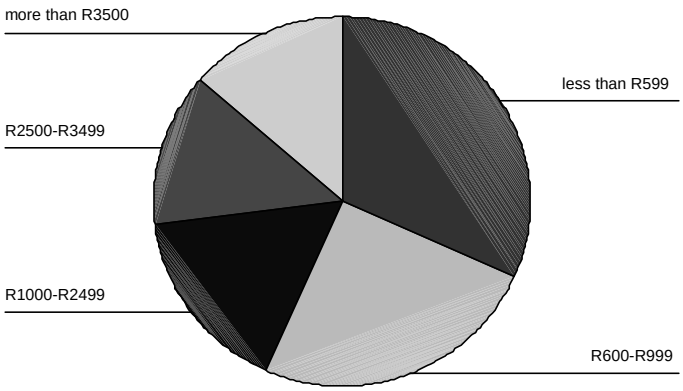
The demographic features of this section of the community support the 'disadvantaged' label attached to it. There is a large and significant proportion dependent on the social-welfare system for retirement and disability grants.

Figure 5.9: Employment status



The income spread reveals that 31.6% of those sampled have a total household income of less than R600 per month, a cumulative percentage of 56.5% indicated an income of less than R1000 per month.

Figure 5.10: Household income



These statistics potentially place 56% of the target group below the poverty datum level (PDL) of R10 000 per annum which was established with the 1991 census (ANC, 1994).

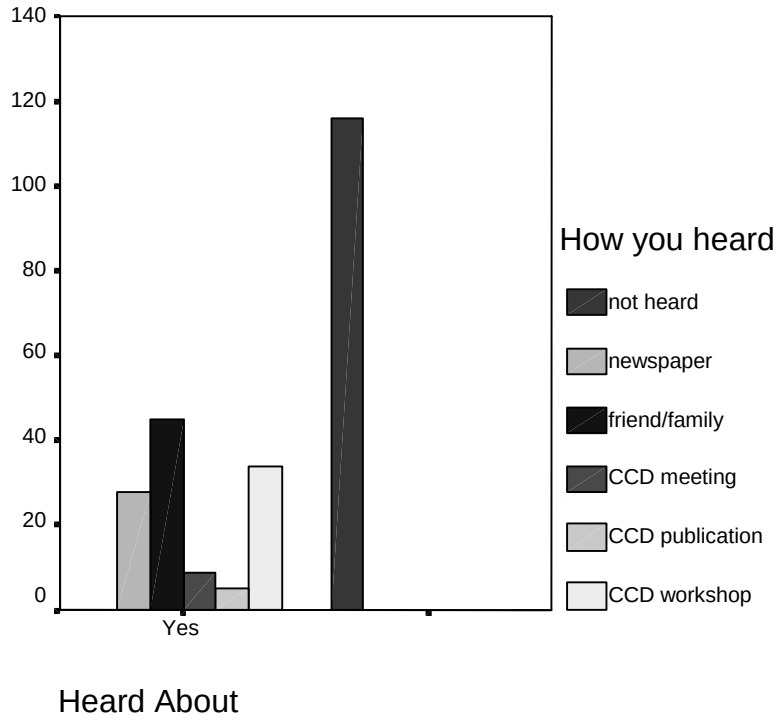
Given the list of training programmes listed earlier, it was concluded that it would have been impossible for these programmes to have reached all the people in the target community. This conclusion was based on the calculation of the number of training programmes (sessions) and the number of participants that participated in these sessions. The questions included in the survey regarding the work of the CCD related to whether people have heard of the CCD, if so, how they heard about it. If individuals had been part of a workshop, they were asked to rate the usefulness of the training. All those who had heard of or had received training were asked to give their opinion about what they thought CCD achieved within the community.

Table 5.4: Heard of CCD

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	121	51.1
	No	116	48.9
	Total	237	100.0

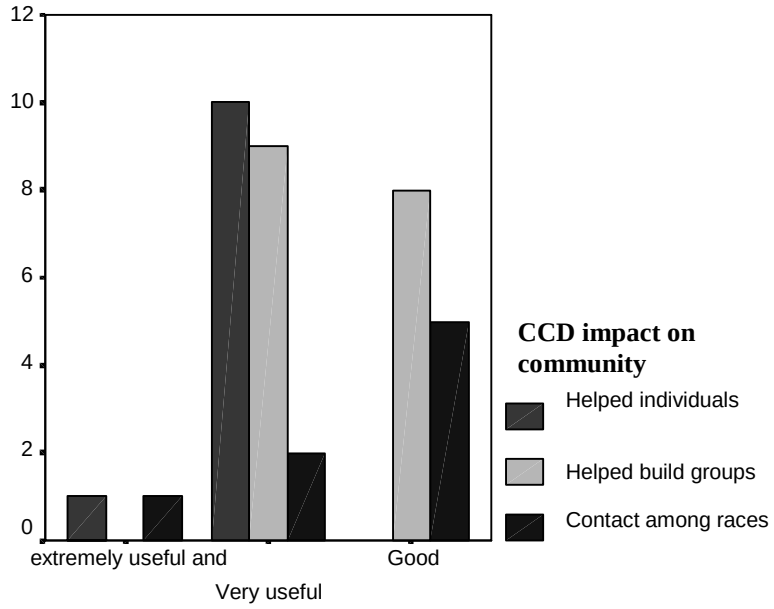
A slight majority of 51% of those surveyed in the target community had heard of the Centre for Community Development. Most of those heard about it via friends or family, the newspaper played a role in informing people about the activities of the CCD. Only 14% of those surveyed attended a training session run by the CCD and about 9% indicated that they attended a meeting organised by the CCD.

Figure 5.11: How heard about CCD



Most of those who indicated that they heard or knew about CCD, got to know about it through friends, attending workshops and the local newspaper that highlighted the work of CCD in the community. Very few people had attended any of the meetings called by CCD in the community and even fewer had read any of the CCD publications.

Figure 5.12: Rating of training



The survey data is useful as a measure of the general influence the organisation has had on the target community. In the absence of baseline information – which was not collected by the organisation – it presents a picture of a community still 'economically challenged'. Almost half the people surveyed indicated that they had not heard about the organisation and 14% attended a training session. Those who attended the training sessions rated them highly with no one stating that it was a waste of time. The respondents felt that the work of CCD equally helped individuals, helped build groups, and facilitated contact among race groups. The data however, is limited in that it does not provide measures on the quality or quantity of outcomes of the intervention. Even if these quality measures were included in the survey it would have been impossible to attribute the results to the work of CCD.

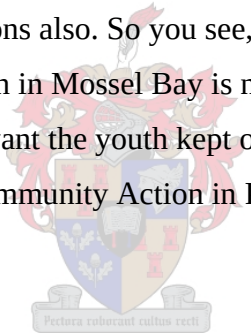
A number of individuals who participated in the different projects were interviewed and asked specifically what the outcomes of the training were for them.

> The training was 'God-sent', because things were changing so dramatically and OBE was introduced and …*the facilitators*… had all the information, so we

were ahead of most people – even the teachers at the schools. I feel that I can provide training for others. I have had enough practice now, maybe I will become a fulltime trainer in years to come, if there is money in it. [ECD trainer; IDB4]

For me the best thing was to share ideas with people in the same field, especially people from different race groups. When I see them in the streets now, we stop and chat. That is the best thing CCD did in my opinion. [ECD trainer; IDB4]

The facilitator… was fantastic. He managed to motivate us and we worked through our problems. I think he connected with us spiritually. I have been involved with the prison for a number of years. I have just been elected as the regional coordinator for the community in prison initiative where we have organised with other prisons also. So you see, the training we received to help us with the youth in prison in Mossel Bay is now growing to other prisons. The only problem is that we want the youth kept out of the prison and we are not succeeding with this. [Community Action in Prison; Community facilitator and teacher; IDB4]



Die organisasie wat op die been gebring is, bestaande uit mense in die gemeenskap, meestal onderwysers waar hulle op `n daaglikse basis met kinders wat in die gevangenis is programme aanbied. Ek dink dit was een van die geslaagste projekte. Soveel so dat daar met `n skool begin is by die gevangenis. Dit is hoe ons gaan verhoed dat die kinders weer in die kwaad gaan verval.

The organisation that was started by people in the community, mostly teachers, and assisted by CCD to offer programmes to youth in prison. I think this was one of the most successful projects. So much so that they have started with a school in prison. This is how we are going to see to it that these children do that fall back to their old ways. [Mayor: IDB4]

> CCD brought the community together. The unity of the community was evident. The people are still together, there is a closeness in the community. [Civic member; IDB4]

> Our business is very successful. We are going to make other things like catering. I am very happy that CCD also taught me beading. We can now sell to the tourist and put beading things we make. CCD got us the Mossgas contract and they were happy with our work. [Women's group member; IDB4]

There were many more statements pertaining to outcomes as a result of the CCD interventions but they were of a similar vain or comments about them being more confident and empowered. These statements will be discussed in the next chapter.

Phase four – impact domain

The previous phases of the evaluation constructed the underlying programme theories operating, assessed the level of implementation of aspects of the programme, and presented a construction of the implementation theory and an assessment of the outcomes of the programme in the targeted community. In this phase, the impact domain, the intention was to assess the attitudinal and behavioural changes within individuals who had been exposed to the CCD programme. The assessment of the 'theory of change' for this intervention will be illustrated by the provision of path analyses of two of the 'projects'. Path analysis is this context refers to a chronological analysis of common events, related to and including the intervention, which affected a group of people and not an individual. This exercise involves analysing the interview responses against these common events and through that a 'picture' will be constructed as a basis for discussion.

The two projects are the teacher-trainer programme, and the women empowerment programme. These two programmes offered different contexts for implementation and the challenges were not the same.

Teacher-trainer programme

The primary objective of this initiative was to develop a cadre of local teachers from different schools who could, in the long-term act as trainers and facilitators for teachers and schools in the broader community. The following construction was created through interviews with the participants in this specific project. The participants were asked to share the history of the development project. Around specific 'activities', that is, what was happening at the time, they were asked to share the 'challenges' they or the project faced, and they had to share the particular 'policy environment' that existed during that time. The path analysis for this programme is presented under the headings; Activities, Challenges and Policy (environment). The primary reason for this demarcation along the historical path was to generate a brief outline of the interrelatedness of development initiatives. Some stages will be followed by direct comments from the participants and/or facilitators.

Table 5.5 (a) Historical path for Teacher-trainer intervention

ACTIVITIES	CHALLENGES	POLICY -ENVIRONMENT
<u>1997 First school term</u> CCD management and facilitators spent considerable time with schools to convince them of the value of an intensive teacher training programme that would benefit not only individual teachers but schools in the broader Mossel Bay area. Schools agree to send teachers.	Individual teachers had to be identified. Some individuals volunteered and were supported by their colleagues. Other schools went through lengthy processes of electing individual teachers. The main criterion was that those selected should be willing to share with colleagues when they returned.	The Department of Education officials agreed to the training programme and wanted a formal report at the end of the training. Documented departmental support.
<u>1997 – second school term</u> Initial two weeks training for 19 "self-selected" teachers from ? schools in Mossel Bay.	The group of 19 was a diverse group and participants had to deal with issues of difference. Difference in terms of race, language and background.	Participants were away from school although this was not official DoE policy.

Comments:

The training and specifically the personal empowerment changed my life. I became a different person. I am involved with many groups in this community and I found those skills invaluable. As teachers we put labels on ourselves and we lacked the ability to challenge the leadership of the schools with confidence. The training helped us to create an atmosphere of trust and to not be afraid to challenge [Participant; IDB4].

I appreciated the process guidelines we shared as a group. I have learned not to blame but also not to remain the victim. The skills will be with me forever. [Participant; IDB4]

There was another aspect of the training which I found far more important and that was the building up of relationships between people in that group who came from various areas. I was the only white person in that group and it was invaluable to me at that point to have the understanding of where the various educators were in their own schools and their assumptions of where white schools were. [Participant; IDB4]

My experience with the CCD training came at a god-given time. It provided me with a foundation to grow , it was tremendous. I use those skills now that I am a senior position. [Participant; IDB4].

I think we were fortunate to pull together a diverse group of people in terms of race, gender and experiences. They bonded well and surpassed my expectations [Facilitator; IDB4].

Table 5.5: (b) Historical path for Teacher-trainer intervention

ACTIVITIES	CHALLENGES	POLICY - ENVIRONMENT
1997 – Fourth school term 3 Follow-up training sessions – after school hours for the participants	Participants had to engage in workshops at their own schools. Not full attendance at the follow-up sessions. School principals reluctant to organise staff gatherings. Colleagues not eager to participate, especially after school hours.	New curriculum introduced. Schools informed to prepare for 're-training' of teachers.
1998 – First school term Newly trained facilitators asked to organise regular meetings among themselves, to form a support group.	Formal assessment of training capabilities of facilitators negotiated. Each facilitator to be observed twice while working in their own schools.	Policy of out of school hours ONLY for teacher development enforced by the Western Cape Education Department.
1998 – Second school term Very few meetings held by facilitators	Assessment of facilitators not completed. Reasons, colleagues reluctant to participate	Teacher rationalisation policy introduced. New teacher-pupil ratios to be 1-40 for primary schools and 1-35 for high schools.
1999 – First school term Very little activity among the facilitators.	Teachers at schools generally de-motivated. Low morale and negative attitudes.	Teachers offered voluntary severance packages (VSPs). Process of retrenchment of teachers started.

Comments:

I must add that I was not the headmaster at the time, and it is my sense that the headmasters then found us too revolutionary – too eager. We unfortunately lost each other and we lost the movement that was created by the initial two weeks because we bonded so well and we came away with ideas to integrate. [Participant; IDB4]

Teacher rationalisation forced teachers to look out for number one only, himself. I also think that principals smiled with CCD but they were threatened by the results of the training. We were not allowed the freedom to share our skills and knowledge. [Participant; IDB4]

My concern has always been the communication. CCD severed the communication ties with the principals and expected the trained teachers to do the communication. This did not work out. Principals felt that they were being coerced, by junior staff and hence resisted. With the rationalisation process we lost the freedom and space to focus on staff development, it became staff survival. [Principal; IDB4]

Table 5.5: (c) Historical path for Teacher-trainer intervention

ACTIVITIES	CHALLENGES	POLICY
<u>1999 Third and fourth terms</u> No organised activities by the facilitators. Not among themselves or within the schools.	New curriculum 'training' by the Education Department introduced and teachers attending sessions. This meant 'more' work for teachers, resistance and low morale.	Redeployment of teachers, declared in excess implemented.
Individual efforts within the new learning areas attempted without much success.	Teachers complain about large class sizes.	New school governance policy introduced.

Comment:

The managements at most schools have changed. If that course took place now, then I am certain that a lot of people would go into the new year 2000 far more positive than what they are now. [Participant; IDB4]

Of the 19 teachers who formed the initial group of teacher-trainers at the end of 1996, two have left the teaching profession. Two are currently school principals, four are deputy principals and the rest all have senior positions (Heads of Departments) at their schools. Four of these participants manage the Community action in prisons (CAIP) initiative, aimed at supporting youth in prison and working with children 'at risk'. One teacher is also a councillor on the local government structure and coordinates the international students' exchange programme in the community.

Women Empowerment Programme

This intervention and the 'teacher-trainer intervention discussed earlier, were referred to as 'programmes', but they were part of the bigger community development programme aimed at the broader community. The community development programme responded to needs expressed by the community. One of the needs was economic empowerment. The CCD had an existing programme focussed on women, providing training in personal and inter-personal development as well as business skills. Since this intervention was not institutionally based, a comparative path analysis was constructed using an existing, self-developed and self-sustaining micro-business in the community.

Table 5.6 (a) Chronological path of women's group

Events, progress, status	CCD Women's Group	Existing Women's Group
The beginning	Forty Unemployed women started the process. Average age – 42 years	Six Women came together four years ago. Average age, 56 years
Composition	The women were 40% Afrikaans and 60 % Xhosa Speakers – all had sewing skills	All the women are Xhosa speakers. Four are related to each other.

Table 5.6 (b) Chronological path of women's group

Events, progress, status	CCD Women's Group	Existing Women's Group
Process and progress	Women came together five days a week for two sets of three weeks.	Women work three days a week on various garments. Each taking turn to sell the garments and accessing the neighbourhood market
Business decision	Women decide on sewing coop because of existing skills among the women.	Women earn monthly income of R70 to R150 at least for ten months of the year. Women all work in a shed in backyard
Establishment of business and business as usual	Women establish small business, develop business plan business called – 'Simunye' (we are one)	
Setting up of business – role of the Mayor	Delay with securing premises – Mayor dies	
Business set up	Premises secured – donated machinery installed	
Split in group	Numbers of women drop – all Afrikaans speakers leave	2 Women too ill to work regularly.
First contract	CCD assists with accessing contract from local business	
Quality control	Quality control established by 'supervisor'	One woman is the leader, her premises
Completion of first contract	Women successfully complete contract all earn R2000 each and two more contracts secured.	

Table 5.6 (c) Chronological path of women's group

Events, progress, status	CCD Women's Group	Existing Women's Group
Crossing boundaries	Women now work on contract requirements but also make other garments for sale at a Saturday market.	Women complain that Simunye taking their potential business
Expanding business	Women have been trained to do bead-work and hope to succeed for the tourist market	
Sustained work	Women work five days a week. Executive allowed to find more contracts. Monthly earning of R300 to R400 each plus a bonus earning with big contracts.	
Ownership	The business belongs to the community. Family members often substitute for others. The premises of the 'factory' also used as a vegetable garden tended by four men who act as the security.	4 Women still meet regularly. It is a social event for the women.

The success of this programme can be measured by the monthly income of the 16 remaining women in the business. However, what cannot be obviously gauged from such an outcome measure is the level of empowerment expressed and felt by some of the women.

Yes, I know that CCD helped us to get that first contract. That helped us, but we get our own contracts now. The two of us go to businesses, we have been to a number of schools, they are just waiting for our samples then we are A-for-away. We have written to a number big businesses, even Oprah Winfrey to help us get our SABS

standard certificates so that we can sell our stuff with pride. [Women's group member; IDB4]

We need some more training in communication skills to help some of the newer women in the group. [Women's group member; IDB4]

I have started an adult basic education course at the University of the Western Cape. I am very excited about this. I want to organise some other women into a catering agency. This must also be a community project. There is a market for that. [Women's group member; IDB4]

The last statement comes from one of the executive members, who, at the time, was 57 years old. The project succeeded in that it was sustaining itself and it was economically viable. It would however not have been possible without the generous donation of machinery by businesses approached by the CCD. The making available of premises at minimal cost by the municipality also contributed to the success. The attempt to get Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking women (in real terms, African and Coloured because most of the African women spoke Afrikaans as well) together, failed. Interviews with the Afrikaans women who dropped out revealed some levels of racial tension but it was couched in terms of cultural differences. The African women almost immediately unified around the common purpose. The Coloured women operated as individuals seeking to benefit from the initiative. The first two months of training with no income were too long a period for most of the Coloured women. They had access to part-time, seasonal work and opted to leave the group to earn money. This initiative did have an impact on the community. A small business was established. It offered regular income and hope for some people. A more detailed discussion and analysis of this, the impact domain is presented in the next chapter.

Phase five – generalisation domain

The underlying programme theory of this intervention, based on the models shared by staff, the constructed implementation model and the impact studies presented earlier, is

centred around ‘capacity building’ of individuals so community groups can benefit and therefore the broader community. The theory assumes diminished or limited capacity in various areas, such as personal or life skills, business skills and more specific skills related to education and training.

This brief articulation of the programme theory serves a means to introduce the generalisation domain for this study. Using Chen’s (1990) concept of the dimension resemblance approach, the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) is presented as an example of a community development intervention in South Africa, that shares essential resemblances to the programme theory under study. Before presenting the similarities between the two programmes it must be stressed that the IRDP has a much larger scope, operating in nine sites in the Southern African Region, spanning South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho.

The underlying point of departure for the establishment of the IRDP, funded by the Kellogg Foundation, is rural poverty. The effects of rural poverty are described as follows.

> Poverty in rural areas in southern Africa is persistent and pervasive. It results in hunger, psychological strain, lack of access to basic infrastructure, inadequate schooling, poor health and illness, and a struggle to manage meagre assets. Households as social institutions are crumbling under its weight, while the social fabric of communities – the bonds of reciprocity and trust – is unravelling. Governments are ineffective in reaching the poor, while the role of non-governmental organizations remains limited. (IRDP, 2001, p.8)

Out of this motivation the IRDP articulated the goal of developing applicable and holistic approaches to building the capacities of rural communities to craft, drive and sustain their own social and economic development. The following specific objectives were expressed.

- Increasing civic participation. To mobilize rural communities to work together optimising their institutional capacities to support sustainable and integrated development.
- Increasing economic opportunity. To increase community capacity towards sustainable economic development, especially among economically marginalized groups.
- Enhancing well-being. To increase the capacity of individuals, families and communities to follow healthy and defensive lifestyles.
- Develop human capacity. To develop community capacity, especially among women and youth, in life skills, family and community values and responsible leadership. (IRDP, 2001, p.10)

For each of these 'cross-cutting' objectives, the management of the programme at the University of Pretoria developed a logical framework analysis that included key outputs and outcomes; indicators of success; means of verification; and related assumptions. All the indicators outlined in this analysis refer to the findings of a baseline study in all the communities that was in the process of being completed. Some key concepts, described in the strategic framework document (Silaula, 2001) of the IRDP, contain the underlying philosophy of co-operative action by civil society in integrated programmes. Some of these concepts include;

> 'Civic participation' is a process through which civil society influences and shares control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them. It is a process of co-operative action in which a group of individuals and /or organisations willingly share in the responsibilities and consequences of a common understanding or achievement of a task.
>
> 'Human Capacity Building' is a term used to denote learning related to the present functions of the individual, learning for the general growth of the individual and learning related to the transformation of the community. (p. 5)

In order to achieve the above objectives, the IRDP management, based at the University of Pretoria, set up a regional management structure and appointed a 'district

facilitator' to each of the nine sites in the region. Each site had to set up a development board that would direct the development activities in that area. The IRDP initiative, funded by the WK Kellogg Foundation also sought to integrate other initiatives, such as IDEAA (Initiative for Development and Equity in African Agriculture) and LeaRN (the Leadership Regional Network for Southern Africa), both funded by the same donor (Kellogg) and also operate under the administrative auspices of the University of Pretoria.

Summary

This chapter dealt with the community development programme, the evaluation results and initial analysis of the data. A brief introduction to the programme context, namely, Mossel Bay, and a history of the Centre for Community Development (CCD) in the area and the events that led to the community development initiative were provided. The programme objectives and envisaged activities of the intervention were outlined, as well as a table of 'training and workshops' offered in the community by the CCD.

The evaluation results for the intervention domain were outlined firstly by the list of assumptions about the Mossel Bay community, held by CCD staff and some participants. This was followed by various interpretations of the concept 'community empowerment'. CCD staff members also shared their understanding of community, the relationship between the concepts 'community empowerment' and 'community development' as well as the mechanisms they employed to attain their empowerment objectives. Selected comments by participants were used to assess what they found to be most valuable in the training offered by CCD. Several graphic representations of the development processes, as developed by CCD management and staff, as well as one participant were presented. The process engaged in for the intervention environment domain was described. The results involved feedback received from trained field-workers who had the task of generating a framework for assessing the implementation of CCD workshops. The findings of the outcome domain, namely, the results of the survey conducted, were presented in the form of tables. For the impact domain two 'project' interventions, namely the teacher-training project and the women's group, were used to assess longer-term impact of the broader intervention. The documented

results from the teacher-training project were presented in the form of a path analysis, interspersed with relevant comments from participants.

The findings for the generalisation domain were articulated using the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) as reference point. Aspects of the IRDP intervention were outlined and the similarities in intent between the two programmes were highlighted. These resemblances were used as a basis to develop the generalisations that will be outlined in more detail in the next chapter. All the findings in the various phases or domains will be treated to further analysis and interpretation in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF EVALUATION FINDINGS

Introduction

A legitimate response at the end of the previous chapter, chapter five, could be: so what is the point? It is precisely this 'so what' that will be addressed in this chapter. Each domain is discussed in terms of the findings and specific interpretative comments are made in relation to the research questions that guided each domain. The interpretative comments rely on the data and the theoretical reference framework developed in chapter four to make sense of the findings.

Phase one – the intervention domain

Articulating and constructing theoretical or underlying aspects of a development programme can reveal interesting information about the intervention programme as whole, as the data presented in this domain indicate. This particular 'construction' process started with the eliciting of assumptions people, CCD staff as well as participants, had about the target community. The significance of making this the point of departure becomes clear if one looks at the synergy between the articulated assumptions and kinds of activities engaged in by the organisation. In particular, the themes of disempowerment and empowerment run through people's understanding of certain concepts and the training activities provided. More specific examples of this include:

- The understanding or assumption that the community is fragmented and divided, hence programmes aimed at bringing people together.
- The assumption that business people are willing to support development, hence the attempts to get business people to fund projects.
- The assumption that the development of local trainers can lead to further development, hence the train-the-trainer model.

- The assumption that people are willing and eager to learn and participate, hence the proliferation of training activities in the area.

While it is possible to observe this close link between the assumptions held by parties involved and the activities engaged in during the intervention, it is not possible to measure or indicate any improvement in the conditions described in the assumptions, precisely because they remained at the level of assumptions. More useful strategies would have been for CCD and the community to unpack these assumptions at the very beginning in the form of a clarification evaluation or in the form of a baseline study where levels of needs or problems could have been rearticulated in measurable terms. The converse is also true, if CCD did embark on a baseline study at the beginning of the intervention, one would have had to investigate the assumptions underlying findings and intent of the baseline study. The question of 'whose assumptions' then becomes relevant.

CCD's contention, in its proposal, that empowerment is NOT development and that development is rather an outcome of empowerment is an interesting one. This contention is further supported by later emphasis on helping people to become more pro-active and alerting them to more possibilities as well as integrating social and personal transformation. However, this scenario is too simplistic and raises more questions in terms of a theoretical understanding of change processes. For example, political power -, read, empowerment, does not translate automatically into economic empowerment-, read, development. Unless of course taken by force, and that can be classified as a violent revolution where physical force is the intervening mechanism. An example of an intervening mechanism in an orderly society can be affirmative action if it is accepted by the society. Another dilemma is also if and whether empowerment that is experienced within an individual can be easily transported or shared with the broader community.

The term community itself was defined first in geographic terms but soon other identities such as race; Whites, Africans and Coloureds, and class; 'have', 'have-nots' and previously disadvantaged, and constituents; teachers, principals, etc. emerged. The comment, that 'attempts were made to include all communities', when referring to the

Mossel Bay community empowerment initiative, is recognition or discovery that many communities exist within a broader community. The existence of many communities influenced the design of the initiative in that more time and resources were spent on one or more sections of the broader community. The complex nature of community development is further captured by comments that it is 'untidy', that empowerment happens at different levels, and it is relational, that is, it is a personal as well as a community process. CCD facilitators believe that by dealing with issues of life skills and power relations, people will have the skills to deal with development requirements. Participants certainly valued the personal empowerment aspects of the intervention, judging by the selected comments. However, the comment by the participant - "It is good to have all the skills but if there is no work what do you do with all the skills?" - in the women's group provides a sobering realisation. In the absence of concrete opportunities to economic development, the acquisition of life skills becomes meaningless. Those who commented positively on the personal empowerment aspect of the intervention were all employed as teachers, secretaries or fishermen. According to CCD staff, the main mechanisms employed to attain the empowerment objectives were the mediation process and a focus on the power relationships existing within communities.

The various graphic 'models' generated by CCD management, staff and a participant reveal the existence of a number of operational models within the community empowerment process. While all the individual models, that is, the 'empowerment process', 'development paths', 'levels and paths' and 'levels of operation', deal with the individual developmental process, they emphasize different components in such processes. The empowerment process model emphasizes self-esteem and values conducive to growth; the development path model emphasizes the many roles or identities of the individual, the levels and paths model emphasizes the different entry levels of participants and the levels of operation model emphasizes the element of choice that rests with the participant. Community empowerment, as described earlier by respondents, involves 're-affirming', 'enabling', 'awakening' and 'capacity building' of 'people'. It is noted that these descriptions all refer to the collective 'people' in the intentions of community empowerment, and that the models focus on the developmental processes of individuals. This suggests a conflation of the

communitarian and libertarian views of society or an un-stated belief in the "Ubuntu" (cited in chapter four) philosophy of the connectedness of individuals. Another interpretation of this stance can be that it is a firm belief that through the empowerment of individuals the community will become empowered. The empowerment intervention component used by the CCD is called 'personal empowerment' which supports this interpretation. Following on from the empowerment process of individuals, is also the question of 'which model operates when?' Or, do all the models operate simultaneously and are all the developmental components emphasized equally? The 'fishnet' model developed by this researcher was an attempt to bring the individual into the community context and into the policy and cultural environments that often dictate and influence the lives of individuals. As suggested by the respondents, this model provides linkages and inserts the individual within a broader context but it does not indicate which has a greater influence on the individual. This insight would enhance programme development and focus development work in more appropriate areas. This model can be extended to a three-dimensional level to include measurements of the economic and social capital of individuals, particularly how this relates to the individuals' personal, professional and organisational status. Further research would be required to assess the effects of the policy and cultural environments on these individuals. This process will inform a 'needs-driven' initiative and focus programme development and implementation.

The personal empowerment model (figure 5.6), which was constructed based on information provided to this researcher, is loaded with assumptions. The first set of assumptions is listed in the column A. It is assumed that individuals exhibit these characteristics before the intervention. No baseline information exists to confirm this. Even if this was a true reflection of the characteristics of most individuals, there is no indication of the differences between individuals as indicated in earlier models. It is also assumed that these characteristics are the result of the policy environment, but as indicated earlier, social and cultural environments also play a huge role in affecting the lives of people. If this model is considered alongside the other 'individual' models discussed earlier, one will realise that the linear depiction of the development path is very limited. Limited because people have different identities, because people enter the

programme at different levels of development and because individuals make choices based on their own needs.

The CCD community development model (figure 5.7) represents a simplified version of the 'real' intent of CCD staff for the communities they work in. The efforts rest on three pillars namely access, action and evaluation. Access refers to the gaining of access to the community and engaging with the people who can make a difference, it also refers to access to resources, both financial and human. The action part will be the direct training provided by CCD but also action embarked on by the community. The third leg, evaluation refers to an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process that will direct decisions and actions. All three pillars are encircled within a cognitive facilitation process that CCD staff members regard as essential. It is a process that enables, encourages and empowers. This mediation process provides the values underlying the intervention. There is strong recognition of the social, political and economic context within which the intervention has to operate and all of this is directed at empowerment, ownership, self-reliance and sustainability. The community sectors identified in this model are the central actors and beneficiaries. The model however, does not depict the 'messiness' of community development referred to earlier. It also does not provide any indication of process interaction and the interconnectedness of the elements identified. As a potential 'map' for community development, it lacks guiding features, possible routes and a picture of the inter-relatedness of the different features of the territory.

Conclusions about the research question

a) What are the theoretical propositions underpinning the intervention as conceptualised by the 1) executive management of the programme, 2) the official documentation of the organisation, and 3) the programme implementers?

This research revealed multiple theoretical propositions rather than a unified or consolidated conceptualisation of the programme theory. This is in line with Weiss'

(1998) contention that there can be multiple theories in operation in any given programme. The concept 'community' as referred to in the 'community empowerment programme for Mossel Bay is first used in very broad terms and more related to its locality (Crow and Allen, 1994). One senses that the noble intent of the programme was indeed to benefit the broader geographic community of Mossel Bay. However, the intervention was requested by 'shop-stewards' and community activists who came from the so-called previously disadvantaged groups in Mossel bay and the CCD management justified the time and resources spent on these groups as 'levelling the playing fields'. The groups referred to above are those identified previously as Coloureds and Africans. This interpretation of community has more to do with 'identity' as discussed by Castells (1997). The strong sense of identity within these groups has much to do with the way these identities were formed, and what Castells calls 'legitimizing identity'. The Apartheid policy of separate development involved legislated identity construction, a mechanism used in promoting nationalism. The various laws and regulations as identified by Leatt et al (1986), introduced in South Africa after 1948 support this conclusion. However, the identification of both these groups as previously disadvantaged can point to a legitimate claim that they were both indeed disadvantaged and/or that in the process of resisting the Apartheid system, they, together formed a 'resistance identity' as they faced a common enemy. The establishment of political movements and organisations (Pillay, 1996) that forged common strategies against the Apartheid system also played a role in this process of identity construction. In addition to the above forms of community, CCD also had to contend with the bounded communities that formed between those who had lived in Mossel Bay for a longer period and those who arrived recently.

In reality the 'community', the target audience for the community empowerment programme as identified by the CCD management and staff, became that which was defined by residence, interests, identity, and boundaries. The Community Forum, that was established to represent the Mossel Bay community in this intervention, was also made up of constituencies within the community and these constituencies identified needs of their sectors or their 'communities'. The CCD management and staff may have correctly identified a 'fragmented' community as articulated in their assumptions

about Mossel Bay, but the underlying impetus of their construction of 'community' did not counter the fragmented nature of the community.

CCD staff clearly identifies with the more human and people-centred understanding of development as identified by among others, Coetzee, 1996; Slim, 1996; and Uphoff et al, 1998. CCD also foregrounds empowerment as a primary mechanism in the development process and regards development as an outcome of empowerment. There is agreement with Hughes' (1987) 'compensatory' model of empowerment that assumes that all individuals and groups have the capacity to empower themselves. They also show awareness of the presence of social power embedded in social structures and the challenge for individuals and groups to use their own social power. However, the shared understanding of their approach to empowerment remains at a level of a model filled with assumptions that are not translated into operational elements. It fails to provide concise or working theories of the problem the programme is designed to address, what Cole (1999) calls 'aetiology theories'. Hence, the lack of benchmarks or indicators of success, other than that people felt good about themselves. Even the use of Prochaska and DiClemete's (1994) stages of change would have been useful because it is obvious that the people who attended the training and who were involved in the programme in some way were at least in the contemplation stage. Whether they had moved on to the action stage or beyond is not clear. Even if some level of empowerment is achieved, it is not clear how the programme deals with Riger's (1993) identification of the paradox inherent in empowerment. That is, that becoming empowered may reduce the individual's dependency on the community and a sense of alienation and separateness may be experienced.

The empowerment thrust of the CCD community development programme means that the intervention resides more comfortably within the 'enlightenment model' of community development as opposed to the 'social engineering model' (Cernea , 1991). The enlightenment model involves the dissemination of sociological knowledge through education. This can be considered inadequate in a context where both identity and location were legislated in the past – the Apartheid system of social engineering. The non-confrontational approach of the CCD intervention also locates it within what Campfens (1997) identifies as a particular intellectual tradition underlying community

development. The CCD intervention is clearly not involved in mobilising people and developing oppositional movements through their strategies. The intellectual tradition of 'Social learning: Knowledge and Community Action' provides a more suitable fit for the intervention. Elements of the 'group dynamics approaches – involving action research, the 'popular education and conscientisation' approach introduced by Friere (1970), and 'development expert approaches are evident in the responses from CCD management and staff. In real terms, using the change models identified by Homan (1994), the CCD intervention resorts under the 'community development' banner as opposed to other activities that fall under the 'social planning' approach. This is a useful distinction because the 'social planning' activities involve action systems that are directed by people who are legally and structurally tied to community agencies and organisations. These people are employed by the community, through their tax contributions to perform certain tasks and can be held accountable.

As stated earlier, the various graphic representations generated by the CCD management and staff, reveal the use of different but interconnected operational models within the community empowerment process. The targeting of individuals is congruent with their underlying communitarian view that these individuals are inextricably linked to their community. It is also insightful that CCD staff recognises that individuals enter training programmes having different identities or roles and that each role may be in a different developmental 'position' – on the developmental path. One can almost argue that the programme intent, as articulated through the empowerment agenda is held ransom to chance. It will be by chance that the training objectives are achieved, and it will be by chance that the participants make the choice to embark on a journey of change. But this characterisation of an intervention programme is in line with the argument forwarded by Pawson and Tilley (1997) who highlight the importance of a particular context, which can lead to a particular result. Essentially what they are saying is that the attitudes of clients influence the success of the programme. Their attitudes, if these are positive, create conditions favourable and suited to the intervention. Pawson and Tilley maintain that choices made by the participants will frame the extent and the nature of the change. The CCD intervention therefore relies heavily on its context, on how much participants desire or want the

intervention. The significance of involving community stakeholders in the identification of needs becomes clearer.

Phase two – the implementation environment domain

Using the criteria generated by the fieldworkers, the findings confirm 'successful' implementation of specific CCD training programmes. Accessible and suitable venues were utilised for the training. The accessibility criterion was important because of the socio-economic status of most of the participants. Participants did not have access to their own transport. Public transport, in the form of mini-bus taxis, was expensive. The suitability criteria that related to space and adequate chairs, reveals some insight into appropriate learning environment. It can be interpreted that the observers felt that in order for effective learning to take place there needs to be adequate space for people to move around if necessary, the venue should be well ventilated and there should be enough chairs for people to sit on.

The observers were largely satisfied with the racial mix of the groups although there was some concern about the gender make-up of some of the groups. The concern with the racial and gender reveals aspects about observers' perceptions of community. For them it was important to have 'Coloured' and 'African' participants either because they had a vision of an integrated community or because as a group, they themselves were made up of these two racial groups. The latter point can be echoed when the gender composition was considered or it can be construed that they had some sense of equitable treatment for men and women. The comments from participants however, indicated a desire and wish for this arrangement because it happened so seldom.

There was general satisfaction with the training processes. All the facilitators displayed flexibility, they were sensitive to the needs of participants and according to observers, as well as the participants, the facilitators were knowledgeable. From the comments of the participants one can deduce that the facilitators played an extremely important part in the successful implementation of the workshops. The comments about workshop processes all revolved around the central role of the facilitator, almost

as if the process was the facilitator and the facilitator was the process. The fact that the positive comments were made about different facilitators, suggests that the programme content and intent were closely linked to the quality of facilitators employed by the CCD.

The comments, related to the value-added criteria of the observations, were all concerned with personal characteristics of participants. Participants expressed shifts in attitudes about themselves, their roles and future tasks. Based on these comments and observation data, one can say that a direct outcome of the workshops was a change in participants' attitudes about aspects of self. These self-reports can be considered as 'weak evidence' but it is evidence nonetheless. The data also could not, because of its closeness to the training session, confirm sustainable change, either attitudinal or behavioural, over a period of time. The participants were not tracked and observed after the training sessions. Also, with two notable exceptions, all the participants were highly motivated in terms of their orientation to the training. They all expressed either a need to prepare for an external dynamic or a self-assessed need they had as individuals. The fact that they made use of an opportunity that did not exist before says something about the calibre of people who attended the training. They could be considered as being determined people with clear objectives and they were prepared to take risks. The two exceptions referred to earlier were both teachers and their comments were taken before the training started. The fieldworker did not get their comments after the training session.

The information gathered from the key informants confirmed the value of the CCD programme in the Mossel Bay Community. The choice of key-informants also influenced the kinds of comments and requests that were made.

The dual role of this aspect of the evaluation process may have skewed the emphasis more on the training than on the outcome of the CCD programme within the community. Be that as it may, the training process that emphasised, verifiability of information and sources proved to be very successful. The community evaluators learned to check more than one source for information before making judgement as to the merit of a particular training session. They firstly observed the training sessions,

using their own criteria and then interviewed participants before and after the training as well as the facilitator at the end of the training sessions. The frameworks they developed could be considered as limited but they generated these instruments collectively and used them as lenses through which to view the implementation environment of particular aspects of a programme.

The training of trainers formed a central part of the overall intention of the community development intervention. The list of training workshops provided in chapter five contains activities of the 'train-the-trainer' nature aimed at lead teachers, ECD practitioners, community action in prison personnel and youth. As stated in the previous chapter, none of these trainers were observed in their different fields of practice because of logistical reasons. The only people this researcher managed to interview were those involved in the Early Childhood sector and one person that were associated with the community action in prison initiative. The latter was also a participant in the teacher development programme.

The assessment of the outcomes of the broader implementation theory, that of producing local, trained facilitators, was not successfully implemented. The interviews with the ECD trainers produced valuable insights into their efforts and difficulties but direct observation and interaction with their participants would have been more useful. This was part of the plan for the evaluation but the time was spent training the local evaluation fieldworkers.

The comments made by the ECD trainers reveal that CCD was successful in this sector to produce trainers who, on their own, ran training workshops for others in the community. However, the training could not be sustained as attendance dropped after the second workshop. The trainers themselves supplied the reasons for this happening. There was a perception that they were not the 'experts', they themselves felt that they had limited knowledge and as a group, they were not racially diverse.

Conclusions about the research question

a) What are the attitudinal shifts, if any, of the participants during and at the end of the intervention? How does this relate to the programme theory? What are the mechanisms for change triggered by the programme and how do they counteract, if at all, the existing social processes?

The attitudinal shifts, if any, relate more to the personal empowerment component of the CCD intervention. The personal empowerment intervention was aimed at addressing issues of, among others, self-esteem, self-perception, self-confidence, locus of control and interpersonal relationships. These issues of focus emerged during the interviews with CCD management and facilitators. The evaluation of specific workshops did not hone in on these issues, instead, general questions pertaining to how they felt about the training process and what they had learned were posed as measures of the participants' attitudes. The lack of baseline data makes it impossible to make the claim of attitudinal shifts. However, in as far the self-reports reported on their attitudes during and at the end of the selected training sessions, one cannot dismiss the feelings of gratitude, expressions of growth and gain and commitment to use the skills that they had gained. Sufficient care was taken with the training of the interviewers to ensure that they obtained reliable information. The participants were able to understand the questions that were put to them, they had sufficient self-awareness to provide the necessary information and it was unlikely that they would deliberately provide false responses.

The feedback provided by the participants and the intentions embedded in the objectives of the CCD intervention resonate well with Campfens' (1997) theoretical construction of social learning as a community development strategy. The social practice that emanate from this strategy is constituted by four elements. They are repeated here;

- Theories of reality that assist us in understanding the world around us,
- A theory of history,

- A theory of the specific situation,
- And the values that inspire and direct the action.

The levelling of the 'playing fields' comment by the CCD management and various 'isms', that is racism, sexism etc, purportedly addressed by the training programmes incorporates the above elements for social practice. The value base of the CCD intervention did not feature centrally in the programme theory construction process but the underlying belief in human potential as captured in the statement' " …include a prevailing optimism about human beings, the desirability and necessity of transformation and change for democracy to take root" (facilitator) indicate an extant value base.

The participants reported attitudinal shifts and renewed awareness, potentially being able to 'help themselves' after the exposure to the training. However, the data did not reveal, in any depth, the level of change and the ability of the individuals to confront the power, present in social structures. One even suggested that the 'bosses' should be exposed to the training. This correlates with Wouters' (1993) contention that it is the unquestioning legitimacy of social structure that gives them their power to enable and dis-enable. Riger's (1993) argument, that interventions dealing with a sense of empowerment only lead to an illusion of power without affecting the actual distribution of power, offers a useful point of focus for an evaluation study of this nature. The comment by a CCD facilitator, '…its means little if it just means a consciousness raising. The people develop an understanding of their inner strength and powers that enable them to enact in a social context', indicates an awareness of the potential for misguiding intervention efforts.

The change mechanisms triggered by the intervention emerged after a careful study of the data. The CCD facilitators indicated the strategies they employed, they were;

- affirming people,
- working on a needs base and
- inclusivity.

The latter strategy involved facilitators identifying with the participants and modelling alternative behaviours. The participants on the other hand, requested the training, and

came to the workshops highly motivated, with high expectations. The diversity of the participants, in terms of race and language, supported the creation of a ‘neutral’ and ‘safe’ environment for people to express themselves, and to be open to new ideas. These conditions enabled both facilitators and participants to explore alternative attitudes and behaviours. However, these conditions were ‘abnormal’. Abnormal in the sense that in reality the people of the different race groups did not normally and readily mix. People did not normally talk about their concerns, wishes, hopes and aspirations in an open forum. No assessment was made of the ‘normal’ conditions and how people operated when among homogenous groups of people or within a conflict-ridden environment. Since the participants were not tracked to see how they behaved in their ‘normal’ environments, after the training, it is difficult to make a judgement of the worth of the training on the individuals. Several individuals interviewed for the purposes of this evaluation indicated that the training assisted them a great deal and these individuals had moved on from where they were when they participated in the training. One had become a school principal, another a councillor and yet another, an Education Department official. These individuals could be regarded as highly motivated and even ambitious people. Although they credited the CCD training for their growth, their upward mobility had a lot to do with their personal attributes.

The request for more training by members of the community can be regarded as a very positive sign for the CCD intervention. It can also be a sign that some people need much, much more in order for them to embark on alternative paths of growth and development. This is in line with one of the models produced by CCD staff, that people enter the training programmes at different levels.

Phase three – the outcome domain

The survey that was conducted in the Mossel Bay community did not directly address the research question for this domain. However, the survey was motivated by the need to focus on the intervention programme as whole, that is, to go beyond the subunit level of projects. This is in line with the ‘embedded case study design’ promoted by Yin (1984).

The results of the demographic features of the section of the community that was

surveyed, supported the 'disadvantaged' label attached to it. There was a large and significant proportion of the sample dependent on the social welfare system for retirement and disability grants. As stated in the previous chapter, almost half the people surveyed indicated that they had not heard about the organisation CCD, and only 14% attended a training session. This is the primary reason why no broad patterns of change processes and outcome could be expected. From this, one can deduce that although the programme was called a community development or empowerment programme, the focus was more on the individual. The individuals on the other hand came from those pockets in the community that were more organised or who were associated with the constituencies represented on the Coordinating Body.

The statements about outcomes related to the CCD programme and as they pertain to specific individuals represent a broad range of outcomes. The outcomes range from skills developed to ensure further training, bringing individuals from different race groups together, the setting up of structures in the community to business opportunities for economic development. These outcomes, provided through self-reports are in line with the stated objectives of CCD and they overlap in some way with the findings of the survey, these were, that CCD helped individuals in the community, helped with contact among the different races and helped with groups in the community.

Conclusions about the research question

> What are the discernable pattern of change processes and outcomes within and across different areas of intervention?

The attainment of broad patterns of change across at least the targeted community, as sampled by the survey, escaped this intervention. This can be attributed to a number of factors. The first factor is the lack of baseline information. The baseline information would or could have influenced the strategies employed by the intervention. It would or could have had the effect of informing more people about the intentions of the organisation. The process of acquiring the baseline information would have forced the intervention to translate its objectives into measurable terms and still remain within its 'empowerment' focus, as proposed by the (NCRCRD) North Central, Regional Center

for Rural Development which share similar objectives;

> Increased use of skills, knowledge and ability of local people.
> Strengthened relationships and communication.
> Improved community initiative, responsibility and adaptability.
> Sustainability, health ecosystems with multiple community benefits.
> Appropriately diverse and healthy economies.

The second factor that influenced the patterns of change process and outcomes was the 'needs-driven' imperative of the intervention. While the 'needs-driven' imperative is certainly commendable and necessary, its application skewed the potential patterns of outcomes as attention was given to those people who had access to or influence on the coordinating structure that determined needs and activities in the area. The issue of individual or group needs also mirrors in some ways the macro-micro debate of development. A macro focus to development has the potential of missing the unique nuances of individual communities and can hold it ransom to global dictates that operate under possibly different sets of principles. A micro focus, with the emphasis on the experience of the 'life-world' (Coetzee, 1996), is in danger of what Graaff (1996) calls micro-theory myopia. Graaff (1996) warns against this dichotomous foundation of a pair of opposites and argues for a more integrated approach to development. The point here is that the needs-driven approach (micro-level intervention) was under-theorised and poorly conceptualised in terms of the overall purpose of the intervention.

Another factor that affected the patterns of change process and outcomes was the emphasis of the overall intervention, which was weighted in the 'enlightenment' continuum of community development with little or no attention to the 'social engineering' element of community development. The ideal of course, is not to polarise these two 'models' but to harvest the benefits of a complementary relationship between the two models (Cernea, 1991). The CCD intervention focused almost exclusively on enlightenment, that is, the dissemination of sociological knowledge through education. How this knowledge was to be used in the context of unequal power-relations, stark economic disparity and a policy-shifting environment, was left to the individuals and groups.

The outcomes articulated by the participants (under the outcomes domain) and listed in chapter five represent real outcomes for these individuals. However, as the trainers in the ECD sector indicated, their training activities in the community did not last long. It is a sad indictment on the state of the Mossel Bay community and indeed, the South African society if Mossel Bay is to be regarded as a microcosm of the broader country, that it needs an intervention of this nature for people of different race groups to meet. People in the community started the 'community action in prison' group. CCD performed a supportive role and the outcomes were attained because of this support and the personal commitment and motivation of the participants. The underlying mechanisms of self-motivation and ownership of the project proved to be the deciding factors for these outcomes. The business venture started by the women's group was indeed a success story. Its continued success will depend on their resolve, skills, resourcefulness and the market related challenges they will face in the future. This outcome is also discussed later in the impact domain analsyis.

Phase four – the impact domain

When the teacher-trainer programme was introduced it had the support of most educators, including the managements of the schools and officials within the then newly established education department. The training programme was supported because it was believed that local teachers would be provided with necessary skills so that they could assist and support teachers in that region. Participants in the training expressed satisfaction with the training at various levels. Some emphasised the personal growth and others were grateful for the opportunity to learn about teachers from other racial groups. However, when these teachers returned to their schools to share their new knowledge and skills, they were met with resistance. The attitudes of the school principals changed and they found it difficult to share with other teachers. A policy change also influenced the activities of these trained teachers. All teacher support programmes had to be conducted after school hours and most teachers were reluctant to give of their time. Another policy measure, that had a huge impact on the activities of these trainers, was the introduction of the process of rationalisation. Teachers in general became more insecure and those who could, took the voluntary

severance package that was on offer. This led to reduced numbers of teachers and larger class sizes. Teachers revolted by becoming more insular, suspicious of school management and resistant to any innovations. Even after groups of teachers voluntarily left the profession, the education department proceeded with declaring others in excess and under threat of retrenchment. All this happened under a new policy of teacher-pupil ratio of 1-to-35 at high schools and 1-to-40 at primary schools. Once declared in excess, teachers were either retrenched or redeployed to areas where they were needed.

During the same period, a new school curriculum, C2005, was being introduced and teachers were asked to 'make a paradigm shift' and embrace a new curriculum that involved radical changes. Some of these changes involved changing the concept, 'subject', which often involved a teacher's identity, e.g. a 'geography teacher' or a 'history teacher', to 'learning area' with different names such as 'human and social sciences' and 'mathematical literacy'. Another new educational policy mechanism that was introduced during that time was the new school governance policy. This policy place more emphasis on parental involvement and ownership in schools. Some principals and teachers initially regarded this policy with suspicion and felt threatened by the power afforded to parents. It was under these circumstances that the CCD trained teachers were expected to offer support to other teachers. It became an impossible task and although the participants commented on the value of the programme, it remained with the individuals, some of whom went on to other things or moved on to becoming school principals themselves.

The women's group can be claimed as a success story for the CCD, based on the evidence that it has become a self-sustaining business and that a group of 16 women are still receiving a regular income through this business. However, a lot will depend on the lasting power of the initial group of women that started the project. The request for more training around communication skills, particularly for the new women who had joined the project, is an indication that the new ones may not share the same levels of skills and commitment as those who had been through the training. A healthy development in this project was the level of independence that had developed among some of the women. They have managed to secure contracts without the help of CCD and they are prepared to venture into different fields using existing skills and acquiring

others. The idea of bringing together women from different racial groups failed. The women claim that it had more to do with cultural practices than race on its own. Historical opportunities for seasonal labour had something to do with the lack of success here. Most of these opportunities were also mainly available to Coloured women.

If compared to the pre-existing women's group that is still operating in the area, one will notice the differences in income, the numbers of people involved and focus of their activities. However, the micro-business referred to here, plays an important social networking role for these family members. The business, however small, has been able to augment whatever income they may get from other sources. This small business is in danger of failing completely now that they have to compete with a more organised and trained group of women in the same neighbourhood, producing similar goods. The women have resisted the temptation to close shop and to join the bigger group because they fear that the bigger initiative would fail after a while, as had most big 'township' initiatives of this nature. They are convinced that it is impossible to compete with established businesses in the open market and that the current contracts will dry up soon. The Simunye Women on the other hand, are equally convinced that they will be able to get more contracts and will be able to compete in the open market.

Conclusions about the research question

b) To what extent are these changes related to the rationale and aims of the intervention?

The application of a theory-driven approach to the evaluation was intended to provide more informative measures of the effectiveness of the programme in producing the intended outcomes. The concern for this kind of evaluation is an examination of the processes underlying the programme effects. A simple causal model of inputs – outputs – outcomes, however, cannot adequately provide an understanding of how a programme works, what makes it work, in addition to knowing whether it works or not. The programme effects in this initiative are not evident in the outcome measures produced by the survey. Rogers' (1998) suggestion of incorporating additional

features into programme models begins to inform planners and evaluators of possible variables to consider with programme planning and/or evaluation. An illustration of the importance of these additional features, using the two projects as examples, follows.

Competing but essential mechanisms

The portrayal of a programme as a single, linear chain of intermediate and ultimate outcomes, even with the employment of outcomes hierarchies fails to explain why a programme works or does not work.

The intermediate outcome(s) for the teacher-trainer group was the implementation of skills and knowledge with staff and learners at their schools. A competing but essential mechanism in this context proved to be the principal or the management of the school. The recognition of this mechanism should lead to a re-construction of the underlying logic of the intervention. Consideration should be given to the quality and quantity of programme support for the principal or management in order to make the teacher-trainer intervention succeed.

The intermediate outcome with the women empowerment group was the setting up of small or micro business. What seemed to scupper the attainment of this intermediate outcome, with the whole group in tact, was the amount of time it took before the women could see the returns of their efforts. The time factor caused the women to be without an income for a considerable length of time, and resulted in those who could, leaving the project to satisfy an immediate need.

The effects of factors outside the programme

Rogers (1998) posits that many programme models are entirely programme-centric and they rarely refer to other factors that may either help bring about desired change, or become obstacles to the success of the programme. There are factors which are within the control of the programme and others which are outside the control of the programme.

The changing policy environment clearly affected the teacher-trainer programme. The effects of teacher rationalisation, retrenchments, and redeployment affected the success of this intervention. While these were factors outside the control of the programme, a possible approach could be the preparation of people within a policy-shifting environment. This admittedly is easier said than done, as the community, especially the school community remains divided on a number of issues. The shifting policy environment was recognised by the CCD.

The women, in pursuit of their objectives had a number of delays and setbacks. One delay was caused by the death of the Mayor of the town. The Mayor supported the initiative and promised access to available premises. This factor could not be controlled or foreseen. Issues of the provision of security for the donated machinery also delayed delivery. The inclusion of additional factors in the programme models would support the consideration and measurement of relevant factors that can explain the success or failure at a particular site.

Non-linear causality – virtuous and vicious circles

Rogers (1998) draws on organisational learning literature to illustrate the non-linear causal models. She cites systems thinking literature that suggests that cause and effect might often be connected in a circular way, "through a series of virtuous circles (where an initial effect leads to its own reinforcement and magnification) or vicious circles (where an initial negative effect is similarly magnified)" (p. 8).

One of the participants in the teacher-trainer project is now a respected school principal of a very successful school. He claimed that the understanding he gained during the interaction provided by the CCD training programme, gave him the confidence to apply for the position and he uses the learning experience as a model for his interaction with his staff. The training programme was not geared toward training school managers or principals, but this can be regarded as a virtuous circle.

One of the executive members of the 'Simunye' micro-business is furthering her studies at the age of 57. She also wants to create other business opportunities for women in the area. These were not intended outcomes. This is an example of a virtuous circle. The women also produced an example of a vicious circle. The inability of the project to integrate the women from the different cultural groups has exacerbated racial tension and there is a feeling that the Africans get everything while others get nothing.

The influence of programme clients

The multiple site implementation strategy of a community development programme can fall prey to the assumption that a single model operates across all project sites and for all programme clients. Pawson and Tilley (1997) highlights the importance of a particular context which can lead to particular result. Conditions must be favourable and suited to the intervention. The attitudes of clients influence the success of the programme. Pawson and Tilley have argued that:

> Regardless of whether they are born of inspiration or ignorance, the subject's choices at each of these junctures will frame the extent and the nature of change. … Potential subjects will consider a program (or not), volunteer for it (or not), co-operate closely (or not), stay the course (or not), learn lessons (or not), retain lessons (or not), apply the lessons (or not). (p. 38)

We have already discussed the factors that caused the teacher-trainers to not follow through on the intentions of the programme.

The business skills training provided for the women is an example of the failure of a general model, successfully implemented and shared across many sites in South Africa, to provide the women with the necessary business skills needed for their activities. This intervention was followed up by another session that utilised poster-size pictures with illustrations of all the concepts. This finally worked for the women and the picture-mode was continued with the technical skills training provided later in the programme.

In terms of the research question, one can say that some outcomes were achieved that went beyond the rationale of the programme theory. The primary reason for this was because there was no explicit, clear and generally understood programme theory. The outcomes that were achieved did not violate the underlying principles and operational assumptions of the intervention. A better scenario would have been for a more comprehensive programme theory that incorporated the above factors suggested by Rogers (1998).

Phase five – the generalisation domain

The vast scope of the IRDP initiative, with each individual site incorporating a number of towns and villages, makes it a much more complex endeavour than the narrow Mossel Bay focus of the CCD intervention. For example, the Eastern Cape IRDP site, called the Nyandeni area, incorporates three municipal areas, Libode, Nqeleni and Port St Johns, in a 70km radius. However, it is at the level of implementation and central intentions of capacity building where the two initiatives intersect.

The Integrated Rural Development Programme has clearly articulated objectives and the assumptions about rural development have been generated. A logical framework in the form of a 'logframe matrix' has been developed and it outlines key inputs, outcomes, indicators, means of verification as well as assumptions about these outcomes. This information, and the baseline study, informed the development of a strategic framework for the implementation of the programme. The strategic framework considers each objective in terms of (1) strategic issues to consider, (2) strategies to employ, (3) possible benchmarks and (4) necessary inputs.

As far as 'direct' implementation is concerned, that is, delivery on the ground, the IRDP depends on the capacities and capabilities of service providers (NGOs and consultants) located in the target areas. Where such service providers do not exist, those organisations willing to travel to, and work in those areas are utilised. CCD is one of the service providers that offers its services in the IRDP initiative.

The two systems, the CCD empowerment programme and the IRDP intervention, differ in terms of scope and size and indeed areas of operation but there are a number of significant similarities between the two interventions. Both show a reliance on a local structure to drive the process: the Community Forum in the case of Mossel Bay and established Boards for the IRDP. These structures are purportedly aimed at ensuring that the initiatives are community owned, and driven at local level. Participation in these structures has been, and still is, voluntary. Community leaders and members are expected to provide guidance to a development process without the benefit of a budget, office space, communications equipment (computers, telephones etc.), and transport. Those employed as local facilitators, in both programmes, tend to drive the process because of their full-time involvement and abilities to dictate the nature of the intervention. These structures have also become new arenas for the settling of political and personal differences. Instead of addressing conflict within communities, the new structures created for the purposes of development, introduce or perpetuate conflict in the communities. The advantage of the initial CCD structure in Mossel Bay was that it had the support and commitment of the new Mayor of the town. The Mayor had the necessary support of the local government and political clout. Unfortunately the Mayor passed way, and although the new Mayor supported the initiative, he did not spend the same amount of time and energy on the intervention. The IRDP intervention needs to ensure that individuals such as Mayors or councillors, who serve as representatives of the people in an open democratic process, play a leading role in the working of local intervention structures. However, in the present, very young democracy of South Africa, some of these local councillors are regarded with suspicion.

Both initiatives have capacity building as a key feature of its intervention. The CCD empowerment process succeeded to some extent to raise the levels of self-esteem and sense of empowerment of individuals. The biggest success however, was found within the small business development for the women. If the IRDP initiative does not lead to projects that can sustain themselves beyond the period of intervention, then it would have failed. Capacity building therefore requires a longer view and will by its nature require more time.

Conclusions about the research question

> What are the implications of these theoretical insights for the implementation of community development programmes in South Africa?

The IRDP initiative represents a vast improvement on the CCD intervention in terms of initial planning and the inclusion of strategic factors such as baseline information and benchmarks for the intervention. However, the size and the scope of the IRDP intervention multiply its complexity and exacerbate the potential for contrasting emphases to stifle growth and development. For example, the macro-micro concerns outlined earlier, have to be resolved in an environment where 'community' is defined strongly around identity or ethnicity and where local chiefs enjoy traditional authority. There is the potential problem that local chiefs would prefer a micro focus to development as opposed to an integrated focus to development where an inter-dependence with the wider economy is consolidated. This choice would be motivated by a fear that their authority would be eroded. This is a major challenge for the IRDP since it is common practice in rural development in South Africa to first consult with the relevant chief before embarking on any activities in his or her domain. It is important that the macro-micro corollary of development is addressed early on in the intervention so as to avoid the proliferation of small scale enterprises that become their own parasites, unable to sustain themselves and geared to destroying those around them - or the establishment of large macro industries that use only local manual labour while importing materials and skilled labour from elsewhere.

The emphasis on enlightenment, present in the CCD programme and also evident in the IRDP initiative poses another challenge for all similar development initiatives in South Africa. Human capacity building through education, as evidenced in the CCD intervention, has potential but it is a limited strategy and works only in particular contexts with particular people. The dissemination of sociological knowledge faces a number of unique challenges in the rural areas. There are issues of language, traditions, levels of literacy and the vast distances that need to be considered. A human capacity building strategy through enlightenment, without any linkages to potential economic activity will have much less value in the rural setting than in an urban area. Having

said that, the potential for more community cohesion will be greater in the rural setting because it is through circumstances of adversity that the rural people look to each other for support. The rural poor 'community' in South Africa however is not one homogenous community of location or interest. Similar to the multiple identities, constituencies and segments found in the peri-urban environment of Mossel Bay, there are also a number of interest groups in the rural areas. The interests range from historical attachments to the land, ethnic linkages and modern day economic interest groups. While the 'Ubuntu' philosophy as explained by Khosa (1995) may resonate well within the historical-cultural traditions of the rural poor, the effects of Apartheid policies such as the migrant labour system and the creation of homelands have had huge effects on the psychology of individuals and devastating consequences at a sociological level.

In this geographically vast environment of a multitude of 'unmet needs', where poverty is persistent and pervasive, the IRDP has decided to focus on whole rural districts as opposed to small projects with the aim of developing integrated programmes that acknowledge the holistic nature of development. The risk here is that the focus on macro structures and strategies will fail to reach the individuals on a micro level just as the focus on the micro level in the CCD intervention failed to have any effect on the broader level of the community. The challenge here is for the programme design, that can be assisted by an evaluation design, to move beyond mere description of the rural reality of the intervention and to articulate the programme environment (s) in terms of its social climate, the multiple domains that exist and the processes that intervene between personal and environmental factors. An example of such an exercise is the 'fishnet' model constructed for the CCD intervention. A more thorough manipulation of this model, complete with measurements for the various elements can be very useful. These procedures, according to Moos (1988), can help evaluators and managers to conduct formative assessments, monitor programme development and change, and improve programmes by providing feedback on evaluation results.

These implications are in all probability also relevant to other interventions in South Africa. The IRDP intervention was selected because of this researcher's familiarity with the programme and despite the differences in scope and size, there were sufficient

similarities to employ the dimension resemblance approach to generalisation as articulated by Chen (1990).

Summary

This chapter presented a discussion on the research findings of the evaluation of a community development programme. The findings, presented in the previous chapter, were organised in domains as per the design of the evaluation. Each domain discussion of the findings was followed by interpretative comments related to the research question(s) relevant to the domain.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction and summary

This study was introduced in chapter one in the context of a growing, but as yet under-developed field of research in South Africa. That is, that programme evaluation in South Africa was still largely practiced from within and out of the discipline-based higher education fields of Psychology, Sociology, Education or Political Science. The quotation by Rossi and Freeman (1993), used at the start of this report, indicating that 'evaluation research is more than the application of methods', was strategic and central to the intent of this study. It framed the focus of this case study on the explication of an alternative to the 'black-box' / 'experimental' design to programme evaluation. This alternative was the theory-based approach to programme evaluation.

The recent and current socio-economic problems in South Africa, such as unemployment; staggering crime statistics; inadequate and poor infrastructure; and lack of housing, transport and opportunities for survival were used as a backdrop for the justification of this study. The attempts to address these socio-economic problems have resulted in various interventions and initiatives by both government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The lack of documented evaluation studies of these interventions was presented as further justification for this present study. Not only the need for documenting programme evaluation, but also the need for a particular kind of evaluation namely, a theory-based approach to programme evaluation that could illuminate the complexities of social programmes and provide guidance for future interventions.

Another justification for the need of a study of this nature was the lack of attention given to theoretical aspects of social programmes in academic texts that are in wide use in higher education. The study then proceeded to argue for a theory-based approach to

programme evaluation. Firstly, at the level of programme evaluation, locating the approach within the historical development of programme evaluation and various purposes and conditions that inform evaluation research choices. The second level of argument was from a meta-theoretical perspective where theory-based evaluation was positioned in the broader landscape of the philosophical and methodological debates within the social sciences. And lastly, theory-based evaluation was argued for via an application of this approach to an evaluation of a community development programme in South Africa. These three sections of the study corresponded with the research questions articulated in the first chapter. The extent to which the research questions have been addressed will be discussed below.

Conclusions about the research questions

Research question one:

Why are theory-based evaluations better than black box evaluations?

In addressing the first research question it was necessary to postulate a particular understanding of programme evaluation. This understanding was drawn from Rossi and Freeman (1993), Weiss (1998) and Mouton (1998), who all emphasise the systematic application of research methods within programme evaluation and encourage through this, an orientation to improve the human condition. The rationale for randomised experiments to evaluate the outcomes of intervention programmes was a strong one. Proponents of the experimental approach believed that no other research design was better suited to ruling out competing explanations for observed effects. This design promised that through continual testing and social experimentation, policy makers would be provided with the necessary information to make informed decisions about how to allocate limited resources. However, the applications of experimental methods in programme evaluation, across all kinds of interventions, have failed to produce information useful for policy decisions. The pre-test, post-test design produced a black box type of evaluation (Bickman, 1987), and could not explain why programmes failed or indeed, why they were successful. Pawson and Tillley (1994) put it more bluntly when they state that:

> It is high time for an end to the domination of the *quasi-experimental* (or OXO) model of evaluation. Such an approach is a fine strategy for evaluating the relative performance of washing powders or crop fertilizers, but is a lousy means of expressing the nature of causality and change going on within social programmes. (Pawson and Tilley, 1994, p.292)

The basis for the arguments against the experimental approach to evaluation for this study was not its quantitative orientation but the logic on which it is based. There was agreement with Pawson and Tilley (1997) that the experimental approach to establishing causality, by simply taking account of inputs and outputs while controlling for extraneous and intervening variables, was flawed. It created black box evaluations that were unable to provide any real insight into the underlying causal mechanisms that produced treatment effects (Clarke and Dawson, 1999).

These arguments and the many others presented in this dissertation adequately addressed the research question. However, in the broader sphere of programme evaluation one can conclude the following:

- All service providers or programme implementers have assumptions about their target groups and target groups, rightly so, have assumptions about the services and those who provide the services.

The evaluation of a community development programme in this study started off with establishing assumptions the service provider had of the community. This exercise proved to be very informative and instructive for considering other elements of the programme. It became clear that these assumptions influenced not only the focus of the intervention programme but also the scope the intervention. Similarly, participants in the programme can have assumptions about the service providers. For example, that these people are ‘the experts’ or that the service providers have something that will satisfy their needs. Those who fail to attend may assume that the service providers have nothing valuable to offer. Whatever the assumptions may be, the fact that we are aware of the existence of the many assumptions that operate within a programme

should inform evaluators to look beyond the mere inputs but to assess those factors (the assumptions) that shape, mediate and direct the inputs. A black-box evaluation cannot do this. The assumptions that individuals and groups hold, influence the quality and intensity of an intervention and when there are diverse assumptions between the management and staff of a service agency or between the service agency and the target group, it will have an effect on the mechanisms used to achieve the change. These, more personal assumptions of course lead to another conclusion namely that:

- Social intervention programmes operate on theories based on held assumptions people have about social development.

This study revealed the multiple theories operating in the community development programme. There are bigger assumptions or theories in the community development programme that were not addressed. The first one is that a development agency, can in the space of a few years (almost four years in this case) affect the way individuals in a community feel about themselves, how they interact with each other, how they regard each other and create a social and economic environment that provide for their well-being of people in the community. Even religious institutions have more modest aspirations. A theory-based approach or an evaluability assessment can direct such assumptions and create more doable and manageable theories of change. Another assumption is that an effective intervention requires the involvement of local people. This assumption is taken for granted and is not often interrogated. The overall theory is based on several other assumptions or a combination of them. It is important to know which assumptions are operating in a particular intervention. Some examples of the many assumptions that can influence this theory include:

a) The involvement of local people legitimises the programme and/or creates the space for shifting of ownership of the programme. The involvement of local people can also be a form of co-option as a means to generate more funding or merely window-dressing.
b) It is expected that members of the community will want to serve on structures created by the intervention. They have to do so, more often than not, on a voluntary basis as is the case with the two programmes discussed in this study.

c) The more people involved the greater the spread of needs that can be identified. Increased diversity can also generate conflict and affect the pace of the intervention.

d) The involvement of local people brings richness and a touch of authenticity to the intervention. They can also use the intervention to further personal aspirations and engage in nepotism.

This study commented on the various interpretations of community and development. Many of the operational interpretations remain at the level of assumptions and are not adequately articulated. A programme may operate with multiple theories. All the assumptions, both personal and programmatic will influence the change mechanisms. A theory-based approach has the potential to uncover the assumptions, articulate operational theory or theories and provide adequate information about programme success or failure. More importantly, the programme theory approach enables evaluators to eliminate rival hypotheses and make causal attributions more easily. A black-box design cannot do this.

Research question two:

How do the debates in the philosophy of social sciences support the theory-based approach to evaluation?

In the light of the assertion, particularly by Potter (1999), that evaluation practices reflect different methodological, epistemological and ideological assumptions, a detailed discussion of the meta-theoretical choices available to evaluators was provided. This discussion included comments on the paradigmatic nature of decision-making and interpretations of the broad features of the main paradigms in the social sciences. Potter's (1999) categorisation of evaluation research activities within various paradigms highlighted the existence of confusing interpretations of evaluation practices. This realisation led this researcher to the following conclusions:

- Programme evaluation involves more than the application of diverse sets of research methods of data collection and analysis.

- Concentrating on technical competence and ignoring the philosophical assumptions can lead to seditious critique of evaluation practices.

- Paradigm choices should reject methodological orthodoxy in favour of methodological appropriateness.

- As discussed in this study, realism offers a potential common ground for evaluators from both quantitative and qualitative traditions, avoiding the extreme positions of the paradigm war.

Research question three:

What are the practical implications for choosing a theory-based evaluation approach to evaluate a community development programme?

The underlying theory for the intervention was not explicit, either in the documentation of the organisation nor among the members of staff interviewed. Moreover, in the process of explicating the latent programme theory, it was discovered that multiple theories of development were operating side by side within the same implementation environment. This, as pointed out by Weiss (1997), was not necessarily a problem but it created the dilemma of not knowing exactly which components of the various theoretical models were emphasised - when and how? A broader implication of this phenomenon concerns the issue of measurement. If one is not clear about what is being implemented and under what conditions, how will one know what to observe or measure? Constructing programme theories is a challenging task. It was not always clear to the staff members of CCD what they were busy doing. This researcher also struggled to sustain staff members' interest in the process of reviewing models constructed based on their sharing. It is a time-consuming process, but a necessary process. It can provide clarity to both evaluator and staff members. If not done properly however, it can obscure and become a barrier rather than a beacon for knowing where to look and what to look for. The challenge for the evaluator is to convince the management of the organisation of the value of such an exercise so that they become willing to invest time and effort in the enterprise. During this study this

exercise was marginally successful. Initial buy-in and co-operation ensured creative and enthusiastic participation, however, this researcher had to rely on staff representatives to provide feedback and further input during subsequent sessions.

Programme evaluation is more than just method (Weiss, 1998). This was the experience in this study when plans were made to assess the implementation environment domain. The organisation (CCD) insisted that local people be trained to assist with the evaluation. This was successfully completed and accommodated but at the expense of other methods of investigation, such as tracking the trainers in the community and observing the 'multiplying effect of the intervention programme. This was not a form of collaboration. It was not a participatory process involving the organisation, it was essentially part of the political nature of programme evaluation where access had to be negotiated and the methodology altered to satisfy stakeholders while still maintaining the integrity of the overall process. Ignoring the request to train local people, read 'political reality', would have meant limited access to information and people.

The criteria developed by Smith (1994) represent some of the implications for theory-driven evaluation in the field. They warrant a repeat here:

> Let me state what I look for: a sense that the evaluator was present over a long enough period and close enough to the action and to the participants' meanings; informed by some system of theoretical ideas about the social and educational substance of the program; adept at the ethical, political and personal relationships that qualitative methods make inevitable; successful in sampling widely with multitude indicators and methods; adept at forms of representation; oriented toward challenging standard hypotheses and assumptions; self-critical and amenable to the scrutiny of the field, peers, participants, and stakeholders; and able to penetrate to an understanding of the matters at hand. I offer these criteria while acknowledging that the use of any or all of them does not somehow corner the truth. (Smith, 1994, p. 42)

This study started while the intervention programme was still in progress, albeit during the last year of its existence. It was informed by some system of theoretical ideas and aware of the socio-political environment in which the community development

programme was taking place. Use was made of both qualitative and quantitative methods and this researcher wants to believe that this study was able to penetrate the true meanings and sense-making of all the relevant stakeholders.

Conclusions about the research problem

The research problem for this study, namely how does one adequately assess the effectiveness of a community development programme, implemented in a changing political landscape that introduced a transformed social and economic policy environment, and renewed health, welfare and education systems, remains a daunting task. Through this study it was argued that an experimental design for an evaluation of this nature would be inadequate as it would neglect the nuances and dynamics created when an intervention programme interfaces with the clients or recipients. A theory-based evaluation, such as the one applied here, has a greater chance of highlighting relevant mechanisms at play in a complex environment as described above.

The changing education policy environment had a detrimental effect on the objectives of the intervention. The intervention could not, while operating outside the official auspices of the education department, carry through its objectives. On the other hand, the new policy environment also provided new opportunities for those who participated in the programme and they moved on to other positions. Local government elections also affected the level of support the intervention enjoyed, although most of the support at the local government level came via the Mayor. When this person passed away, the support dwindled. The lack of integration of the social 'enlightenment' model, coming from CCD and the social 'engineering' model that should have been the arena of the local government resulted in the limited outcomes of the initiative. The voluntary nature of the Coordinating Committee, although representative of various sectors in the community, resulted in a 'butterfly' strategy that saw activities in a number of places coupled with a hopeful demeanour that the seeds would germinate. The accountability factor was completely absent within the community itself. The overall intervention was not accountable to the community, only insofar as the organisation reported to the Coordinating Committee, which itself had no power to reject or use findings. The hundreds of community members who attended the training

courses were also not accountable, except to themselves and in rare cases the organisations they belonged to. A comparable intervention of this nature, such as Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) should ensure that it is 'integrated' into the social planning agenda of the local government(s) in order to address issues of accountability, duplication and equitable spread of resources. This integration of enlightenment and engineering can pave the way for the integration of the micro- and macro imperatives of development as discussed in earlier chapters.

The conclusions reached about the first research question resonate with the central conclusion about the research problem.

- Contextual issues (policy environment; buy in from local people, linkages between structures, and assumptions held by the various stakeholders) play a major role in shaping the focus of an intervention, its direction and ultimately the objectives.

Implications for theory

There is agreement here with Mark et al's (1999) contention that the field of evaluation has no shortage of distinctions and divisions. The positive side of the proliferation of numerous approaches to evaluation, such as utilization-focused, fourth generation, responsive, empowerment, participatory and also theory-based, is that these 'new' approaches may respond to real or previously overlooked needs of evaluation clients. The negative picture that emerges however, is that researchers are unable to move beyond the paradigm schism that resulted from the 'paradigm wars' in the social sciences. Theory-based evaluation as interpreted in this study and promoted by Lipsey (1989, 1990), Pawson and Tilley (1994, 1996), Weiss (1998) and Mark et al (1998, 1999) proposes arguments essentially based within the philosophy of science known as realism that can provide a common paradigm. Within this common paradigm, researchers will be able to develop a common language and create a discourse that transcends past divisions. Part of this discourse would be to develop creative strategies that will help evaluators to respond to the needs in the field instead of allowing predispositions of individual evaluators to dictate the use of certain methods. More

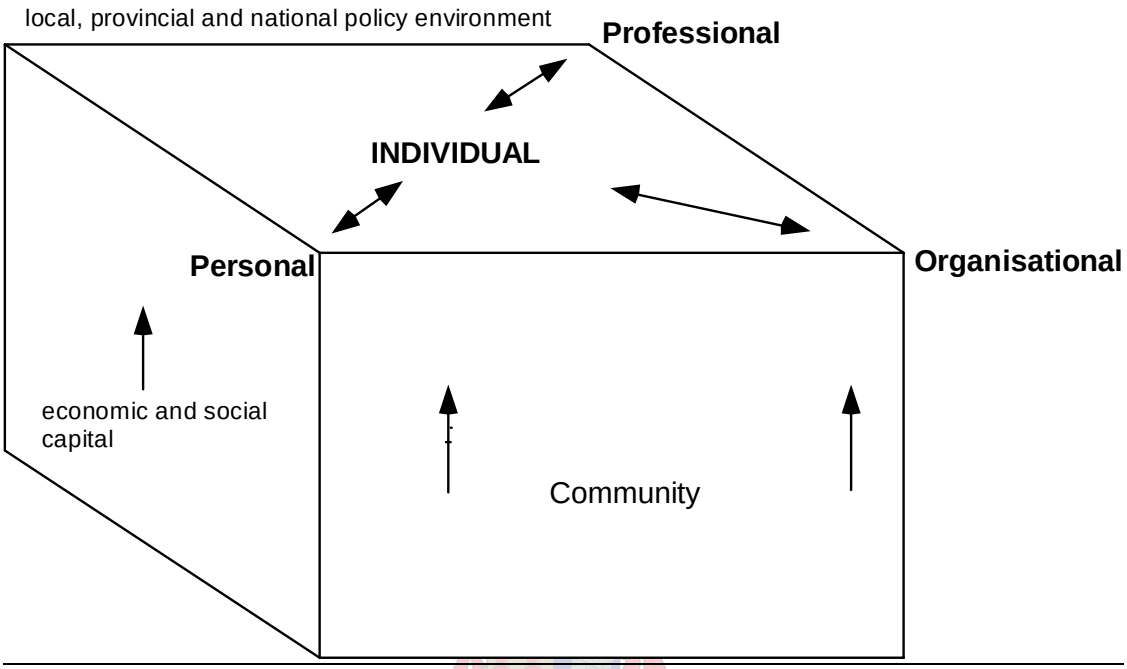
pertinently, theory-based evaluation and the orientation of the present study, encourage evaluators to focus on the 'programme theory' and not the method. The focus on programme theory allows evaluators to move beyond the quantitative-qualitative debate and to spend their energy on the purpose and focus of the evaluation. The latter, in conjunction with the programme theory will inform the design of the evaluation.

Weiss' (1997b) proposed model of a 'theory of change', through the integration of the programme theory and the implementation theory, was instructive. However, in attempting to generate this kind of discussion during the evaluation, this researcher encountered many obstacles as well lessons for future attention. The multifaceted and multi-levelled nature of interventions like the community empowerment programme in Mossel Bay generated a concomitant involved theory of change. The evaluation sensitised participants, notably the facilitating agency, of the need for work/time and resources to be spent on developing clarity on appropriate theories of change. These theories were not easy to formulate. Community members, the participants were also not included in the process of theory construction. Processes to formulate and review theories of change are often unbudgeted for, and seen as additional work. It was also discovered that theories seem to be dictated by agendas and are not free from power plays in communities. These are a function of histories, where people come from and what they wish to gain from access to resources. The needs-driven process allowed for agendas to influence the theory of change. The important lesson learned through this process was that the formulation and analyses of theories of change could be subjected to broader ideological trends and values. This calls for a strategy of, what Mark (2001) calls, values inquiry. It is essentially an attempt to identify the values positions relevant to the intervention programme and related policies so that these can be infused into the evaluation.

Closely related to the 'theory of change' construction process is the difficulty associated with constructing the programme theory itself. Cole's (1999) aetiologic theory structuring guide goes a long way to inform this process. The personal empowerment model constructed during this study attempted to emulate the essence of Cole's guide. This formulation does not however accommodate the features suggested by Rogers (1998). The features of 'competing but essential mechanisms', 'factors outside the programme', 'non-linear causality', and 'the influence of programme

clients' clearly played a role in the outcomes of the community development programme. This researcher believes that these features can be included in a revised, three-dimensional version of the 'fishnet' model constructed during this evaluation.

Figure 7.1 Three-dimensional scoped version of 'fishnet model'



This figure attempts to depict the many different roles (personal, professional and organizational) played by an individual and the relationship of these entities or personas with outside factors (community, social capital, policy environment). All these personas and factors impact on an individual but we do not know which has greater or lesser impact. Measures of the possible influences these aspects have on the individual will deepen our understanding of the change processes and the value people place on these different components in everyday life. These measures will assist evaluators to avoid what Fiske and Talor (1991) call the 'fundamental attribution error'. This is where a person's behaviour is attributed to his or her dispositional qualities instead of considering situational factors. The evaluator, faced with the charge of attributing causality within an intervention programme, needs as much assistance as is possible and financially feasible.

Implications for policy and practice

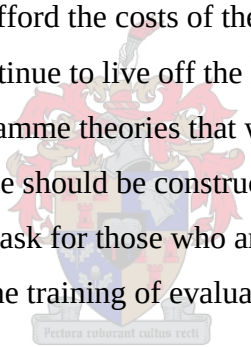
The multitudes of development initiatives currently under way in South Africa are too numerous to fathom by any one researcher. As indicated at the beginning of this dissertation, national programmes have been identified for various developmental nodes and provincial initiatives are being directed at land reform, health care, housing and electrification, small and medium enterprises, skills development, road building and many more. While the outcomes of these initiatives have been hailed as highly successful by the government's communication system, we hear of more and more failures attributable in part to poor management, mismanagement of financial resources as well as the inability of recipients of the interventions to maintain and take ownership of the interventions.

Failures of intervention programmes are nothing new. As a country and a continent we have had hundreds of years of experience of failures. The concern here is that we are not learning from these failures. Lodge's (1999) point that the failure of programmes is partly due to inadequate research and planning needs urgent attention. However, the results used by the government to produce their evidence of success have also been attained via research. The kind of evaluation research that should be utilised to assess these programmes should be of a theory-based nature. It is this researcher's position that much can be gained from the construction of logic models or programme theories, particularly of complex programmes involving different stakeholders. The exercise in theory construction will enable programme implementers to assess deviation from the central programme theory and the need for adjusting the implementation theory based on evidence gained through systematic application of relevant methods. Over a period of time the government would have, at its disposal, a database of programme theories, generated in different contexts under various conditions and in diverse settings. This type of database will inform our cumulative evaluation knowledge about intervention programmes (Lipsey, 1997) and can inform policy about new programmes.

NGOs have developed expertise in a number of areas of development both in this country and elsewhere. This is a valuable resource and should be nurtured, firstly for its expertise and secondly as a vehicle of giving voice to civil society. Government agencies, by their nature tend to silence the local voice and work on community rather

than with them. NGOs have mastered the art of working with people and instead of these two entities, NGOs and local government, working separately, they should be working together. What is proposed here is not a partnership of equals, they clearly are not, but a contractual agreement to operate within the same programme theory framework. This programme theory framework will provide the operational framework and through this strategy, work toward the integration of the micro-macro imperatives of development referred to earlier.

Training in the construction of programme theories or logic models is an area that needs attention, particularly in the South African context. In a social environment where certain cultural norms and practices hold sway, evaluators will have to become au fait with multiple interpretations of certain contexts. For example, an intervention persuading people that it is detrimental to the environment when they cut down trees for firewood and should instead be using other more commercial forms of fuel, can fail not only because people cannot afford the costs of the fuel, but also because people believe that it is their right to continue to live off the land that belongs to them. Innovative logic models or programme theories that will accommodate the idiosyncrasy in the above example should be constructed for specific programmes in South African settings. This is a task for those who are training evaluators and those who are writing texts for use in the training of evaluators.

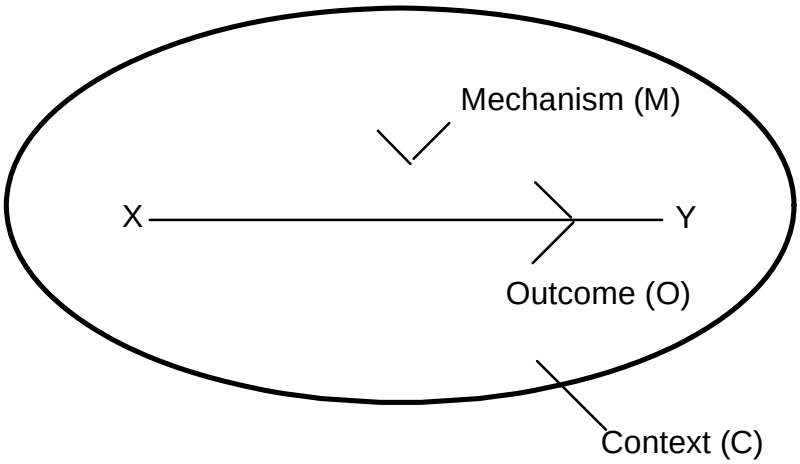


Implications for further research

This research has explored, through a case study, the question of why an experimental or black box design would not be appropriate for the evaluation of, in this case, a community development programme in South Africa. The rejection of the experimental design was not based on the quantitative nature of the experimental design but on the flawed logic on which it is based. Pawson and Tilley (1994) assert that causal explanations cannot be achieved by merely observing the relations between phenomena. The evaluator needs to look beyond those events that produce change, in order to explain the process of change itself. Their interpretation of an experimental design, from a realist perspective, introduces two critical concepts, namely ‘mechanisms’ and ‘context’. A theory-based approach would generate theories about

the ‘mechanisms’ through which the programme seeks to bring about change, as well as the contextual conditions, which are conducive to that change. They provide the following design.

Figure 7.2 The realist experimental design



[Source: Pawson and Tilley, 1994, p. 300]

Pawson and Tilley (1994) contend that the evaluation would collect pre- and post data to give an overall picture of outcomes as in the OXO approach. It is after this process that attention is paid to the mechanisms and contextual variation. The comparisons in the realist experimental design would not be the same as the comparisons in the OXO design of experimental-versus-control group, but will instead be defined by the mechanism/context framework. This approach needs further research in a South African context. The approach could enhance our understanding of the interplay of mechanisms in different contexts.

Not enough time was spent on exploring the various models generated during this evaluation. The ‘fishnet’ model for example has potential, as discussed above. More research is needed about the relative influences the policy environment, organisational affiliation, cultural environment and the professional lifestyles have on people. These measures, in ‘normal’ conditions will advance and enhance the causal inferences that can be made in an evaluation of an intervention. This will also feed into the knowledge base of ‘mechanisms’ suggested by Pawson and Tilley.

An interesting study in its own right, but which can also be related to the theory-based approach, is that of the time and effort organisations spend on planning interventions. It is the opinion here that not enough time is being spent on planning, not necessarily because of a lack of resources, but the inability to conceptualise in theoretical terms, how a programme might unfold. Organisations and government structures do engage in strategic planning, which has become entrenched in the development discourse in the country. However, these strategic planning sessions operate on foundations that are 'best guesses' of some people, meaning that the underlying theoretical basis for the intervention is flawed. An example of this would be the Basic Income Grant (BIG) - not government policy at present. Should it become policy, strategic planning sessions would be held on how best to implement a construction that has been under-theorised. A study of how much time people spend on planning would be useful also as a way of uncovering which components of programme development and implementation enjoy greater emphasis and which elements, such as financial resources, personnel and management have more influence on the direction of the programme.

Conclusion

It was argued in this study that theory-based evaluation has the potential to contribute to social science knowledge. Besides the examples used in this dissertation, the evaluation findings revealed several intersections with social science knowledge that warrant mentioning. The issues of identity construction, empowerment, models of development, and change theory, are some of the concepts dealt with in this study. As far as assisting policy makers and programme planners is concerned, this study showed that the mere act of engaging organisations in the construction of their latent theories sensitised them to the need to budget time and resources to make their theories more explicit, not just for their own benefit but for the benefit of their clients. The study also showed that by explicating the latent programme theory one can discover the multiple theories that operate and through this one could attribute outcomes to appropriate mechanisms. Further examples, through the evaluation findings, emerged on how intervening mechanisms could be identified and the unintended outcomes discovered.

The barriers to the implementation of theory-based evaluation still remain barriers. The term 'theory' conjures up unnecessary abstract notions of philosophical constructions

that have little to do with everyday life, mainly because the practice-theory divide still persists. An evaluator, using this approach needs to be sensitive to this phenomenon because it can become a barrier at the outset and thwart the quality of further interaction with the evaluation clients. As was done in this study, the evaluator can remain true to the intent of the approach and yet use alternative concepts such as 'programme logic' or 'pathways to change'. Programme theories can also be constructed using the detailed descriptions people make of their programmes. These exercises add to another barrier to theory-driven evaluation, that of the cost-factor. It takes time to construct appropriate theories and the organisations' staffs need to be available to interact with the constructions.

The need for programme evaluation in South Africa cannot be questioned. The conditions that gave rise to the establishment and development of programme evaluation, namely the need to address various socio-economic plights of people suffering from illnesses, lack of nutrition, lack of housing, substance abuse, addictions of various kinds and other social ills, still persist today. These conditions in South Africa are being addressed with limited resources and in an environment of huge backlogs created in part by a political system that discriminated against Black people in this country. The task of programme evaluation is essentially to ensure that intervention programmes directed at these social conditions are assessed through the systematic collection of information so as to make judgements about the programmes, their implementation and outcomes, so that this can lead to improvements in established programmes and/or the creation of better intervention programmes. The position taken in this study, based on the evidence provided, is that a theory-based approach to evaluation can serve this purpose.

The relative young, yet vibrant culture of evaluation research in South Africa is influenced by a number of factors. These factors include the number and quality of training programmes that are available to young researchers and the academic texts that they are exposed to. If these texts provide information that obscures rather illuminate understanding, as indicated in this study, then the growth of evaluation research in this country will be hampered. Theory-based evaluation as argued for in this dissertation is a useful strategy to deal with real concerns in the country. It is also

proffered as an approach that moves beyond the philosophical paradigm schism and the methodological qualitative-quantitative debate. This approach can bolster the research armoury of young researchers, and contribute to a deeper understanding of intervention programmes.

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APPENDIX - A

Interview Questions – Management

1. What is your sense of the people in Mossel Bay?
2. How was the CEP in Mossel Bay initiated?
3. Why Mossel Bay as an area of focus?
4. What is community empowerment?
5. What is your understanding of empowerment?
6. What are the core elements of community empowerment
7. How is the CEP in Mossel Bay managed?
8. What is the involvement of the local community?
9. What is your understanding of development?
10. What have been the outcomes, in your opinion, of the programme in Mossel Bay?
11. What processes would you consider important in the programme?
12. What are the main objectives of the CEP?
13. How do you think the processes lead to the objectives?
14. What have been the major stumbling blocks – if any?
15. What would you consider to be the successes?
16. What would you consider to be the failures.
17. Graphically illustrate your understanding of the processes in Mossel Bay.

Interview questions – Facilitators

1. Describe your training involvement in Mossel bay.
2. What was the duration of the training?
3. What was the content of the training?
4. How many participants attended the workshop(s)?
5. Who identified the need for the training?
6. What impressions do you have of the participants? Any?
7. What specific objectives underlie your intervention?
8. How did/do you hope to achieve your objectives?
9. What is your assessment of the success of your training during the workshop?
10. What is your assessment of the success of your training after the workshop?
11. Have you offered similar training courses elsewhere?
12. What would you do differently should you run a similar workshop in that area?
13. What is your understanding of the term empowerment?
14. What is your understanding of community empowerment (CEP)?
15. How does your training fit into what CCD is attempting to do in Mossel Bay?
16. What kinds of training material do you use?
17. What kinds of follow up support do you /did you offer?
18. Who does the monitoring of training effects after the training?
19. Who should monitor the training effects after training?
20. Graphically illustrate your understanding of the processes in Mossel Bay.

APPENDIX – B1

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Date:_____

Observer_____

Workshop:_____

1. Venue:

1.1 Is the venue suitable for workshop purposes? Yes/No

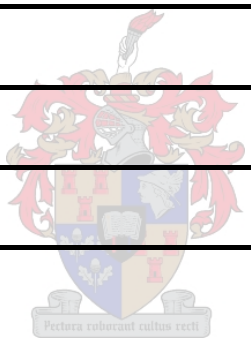
_____

_____

_____

_____

_____



2. Attendance

2.1 No. of participants: _____

2.2 Describe the group in terms of the race and gender make up of the participants.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. Punctuality

3.1 Did the workshop start on time? Yes/No

4. Worshop/Training

4.1 Setting the scene

4.1.1 Introductions: Are appropriate introductions in evidence? Yes/No

4.1.2 Does the facilitator give clear instructions? Yes/No.

4.1.3 Do participants respond appropriately to the instructions and questions? Yes/ No

4.1.4 Is the facilitator flexible? Yes/No

4.1.5 Are the participants actively engage in the workshop? Yes/No

5. Language:

5.1.1 What was the language of the presentation? _____

5.1.2 What is the dominant language of the group? _____

5.1.3 Are people / participants allowed to express themselves in the language of their choice? Yes/NO

6. Materials:

6.1 Are there enough materials? Yes/No

6.2 Do participants encounter any difficulties with the materials? Yes/ No

7. Comment on the efficient/inefficient use of available time

8. What assessment process(es), if any does the facilitator use?

9. What closure strategies are used at the end of the workshop?

10. On a scale of 5, how would you rate this workshop? (circle the number of your choice)

1. Extremely good
2. Very good
3. Average
4. Not good
5. Very bad

APPENDIX – B2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PRESENTER (S)

DATE: _____

INTERVIEWER: _____

NAME OF PRESENTER: _____

(a) Was the venue suitable for the workshop?

(b) Are you satisfied with the attendance (number)?

(c) Are you satisfied with the race and gender mix of the group?

(d) Are you satisfied with the level of participation during the workshop?

(e) Did you encounter any problems during the workshop?

(f) Do you feel that you have reached your objectives?

(g) If you could do the same workshop over again, would you do anything differently?

(h) Is there anything you wish to add?

Thank you for your time and patience

B2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

DATE: _____

INTERVIEWER: _____

KEY INFORMANT: _____

1. What do you know about CCD?
   - 1.1 How did you get to know about CCD?
   - 1.2 What is your understanding of what CCD is trying to do?

2. What needs would you want CCD to respond to?
3. How would you describe the quality of CCD in your community?
4. What changes – if any – came about as a result of CCD work in your community?
5. How is CCD work different that of other similar organisations?
6. How do you see CCD's continued involvement in your community?
7. How did CCD – if at all – help you in networking/ linking up with other organisations / stakeholders in your area?
8. What, in your opinion, should be the focus of CCD work in you area?

APPENDIX - C

MOSSEL BAY

COMMUNITY IMPACT STUDY AND SKILLS AUDIT

December 1999

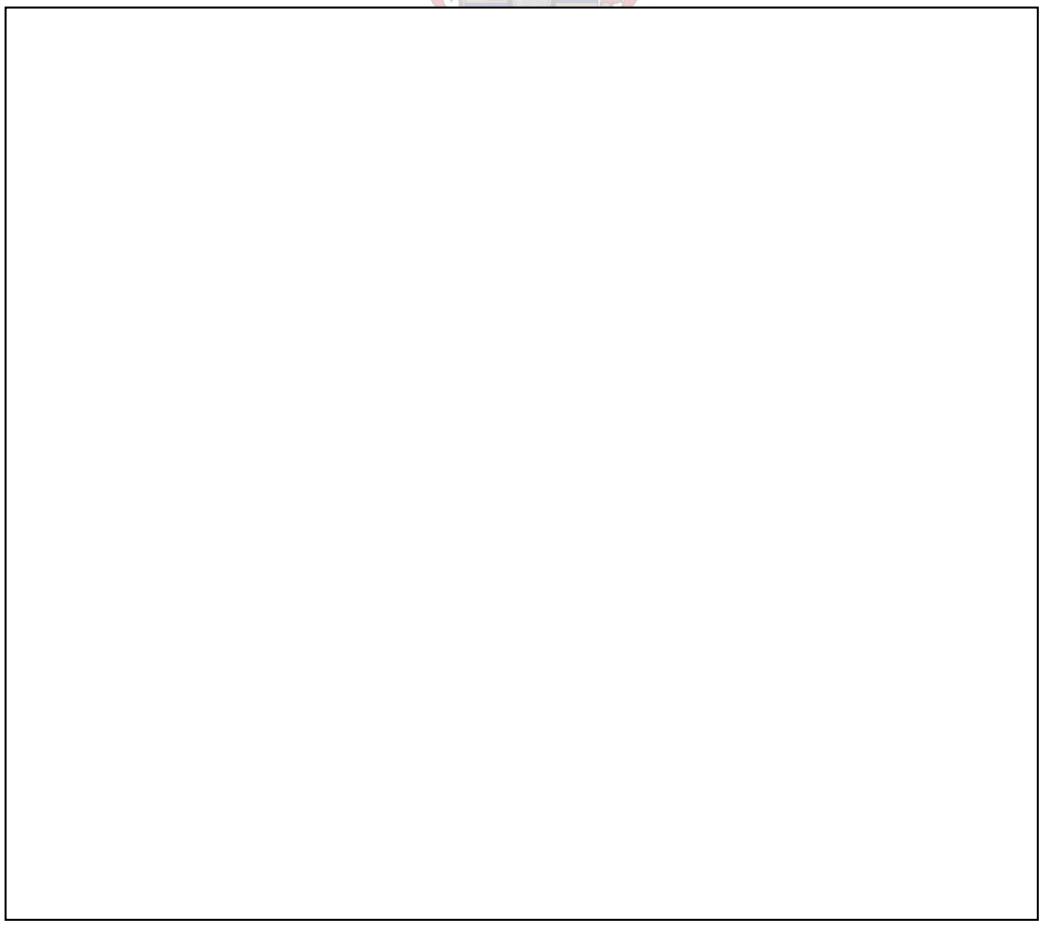
Questionnaire number | | | |

Plot number |

Field worker _____

A. Draw a genogram of the household

Female → ○ Male → △



B. Personal Information

1. Genogram number ID ☐

2. Gender — Male ☐ Female ☐

3. Date of Birth — Y M D ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐

4. Marital Status

Married	1	Widow/er	4
Unmarried	2	Divorced	5
Living tog.	3	Separated	6

5. Home language

Afrikaans 1

Xhosa 2

English 3

Other (specify) 4 _____

6. Formal Education level

None	1	Std 10	6
Sub A – Std 1	2	Diploma (+ 10)	7
Std 2 – Std 5	3	Degree	8
Std 6 – Std 7	4	Degree + Dip	9
Std 8 – Std 9	5		

7. Are you currently involved/busy with further training?

Yes 1

No 2

If yes, specify _____

8. What is your church or religion?

Ned. Geref,/Hervormde/Gereformeerde Kerke	1
Apostolic/Free Apostolic Faith Mission	2
Volkskerk van Afrika	3
Anglican Church	4
Roman Catholic	5
Congregational Church	6
Methodist/Presbyterian Church	7
Seventh Day Adventist Church	8
Lutheran/Rhenish	9
Moravian	10
Other Christian Faiths/Churches	11
Jewish	12
Islam	13
Traditional/African	14
Other	15
None/no answer	16

9. have you heard of the Centre for Community Development (CCD)?

Yes	1
No	2

10. How did you get to know about the Centre for Community Development?

Read about it in the newspaper	1
Heard about it through a friend/family	2
Attended a meeting of CCD	3

Read CCD publications 4

Attended a workshop rune by CCD 5

Any other way? Specify _____

11. If you indicated number 5 above, how would you rate the training you received at the workshop?

Extremely useful and valuable 1

Very useful 2

Good 3

Could be improved 4

Not very useful 5

Complete waste of time 6

12. How would you describe the effect of CCD work in Mossel Bay?

Helped only a few individuals 1

Helped build groups in the community 2

Helped with contact among the different Race groups in the area 3

Did not make an impact on the community 4

Any other comment _____

13. What is your current employment status?

Fulltime employed 1

Part-time employed 2

Retired/pensioner 3

Unemployed (looking) 4

Housewife 5

Disability grant (unemployed 6

Self-employed/small bus.	7
Seasonal worker	8

14. Describe the nature of your fulltime or part-time employment as Well as the employer you work for.

Occupation _____

Employer _____

15. What is your gross income per month? – before deductions

Less than R400	1	R2500 – R2999	6
R400 – R599	2	R3000 – R3499	7
R600 – R799	3	R3500 – R3999	8
R800 – R999	4	R4000 – R4499	9
R1000 – R1499	5	More than R5000	10

16. What is the total (for the house) income per month?

Less than R400	1	R2500 – R2999	6
R400 – R599	2	R3000 – R3499	7
R600 – R799	3	R3500 – R3999	8
R800 – R999	4	R4000 – R4499	9
R1000 – R1499	5	More than R5000	10

17. How many people live in this house (including out-building)?

1 to 3	1
4 to 7	2
8 to 10	3

11 to 15	4
more than 15	5

18. How many adults (over 18 years) live in this house?

1 to 3	1
4 to 7	2
8 to 10	3
11 to 15	4
more than 15	5

19. How many children(under 18 years) live in this house?

None	1
1 to 3	2
4 to 7	3
8 to 10	4
11 to 15	5
more than 15	6

20. Is this house or living unit;

The private property of the head of the household?	1
Rented from a local authority or employer?	2
Rented from another person?	3
None of the above?	4
Don't know	5

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION